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INFORMATION FROM ABROAD.

BATTLES AND CAPITULATION

OF

SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

BY

LIEUTENANT JOSÉ MÜLLER Y TEJEIRO,

SECOND IN COMMAND OF NAVAL FORCES OF THE PROVINCE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The Battles and Capitulation of Santiago de Cuba, by Lieutenant Müller y Tejeiro, second in command of the naval forces of the Province of Santiago de Cuba, just issued in Madrid, contains matter of particular interest and value in connection with the operations of our Navy and Army at Santiago. The writer was an eyewitness of most of the events he describes, and from his position he had access to official information. The style is peculiarly interesting, free from bias, and has an air of authenticity which will give the book a place in history, though it is not an official publication. It is to be regretted that, due to the pressure of work on the very limited force of this office, it has been found necessary to omit the following chapters in the translation:

I. Some Historical Antecedents.
II. The United States and the *Maine*.
III. The First Shots.
IV. The Scene of Events.
V. Forces of the Jurisdiction (Santiago).
VI. Works of Defense.
VII. Artillery Set Up.
VIII. The Cruiser *Reina Mercedes*.
XIV. The Volunteers.
XXX. Escario's Column (being a description of General Escario's march across the country from Manzanillo to Santiago).
XXXIII. Suspension of Hostilities.
XXXVII. Traders, not the Spanish People (responsible for the Cuban trouble).
XXXVIII. Gerona and Santiago de Cuba (comparison of the two battles).

RICHARDSON CLOVER,
Commander, U. S. Navy,
Chief Intelligence Officer.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE,
November 22, 1898.

PREFACE.

On the 18th of May, the first hostile ships were sighted from the Morro of Santiago de Cuba and the first gunshots were heard, which since that date, for the space of two months, have hardly ceased for a single day.

On the following day, the 19th, the Spanish fleet, commanded by Rear Admiral Cervera, entered with very little coal, which it was absolutely necessary to replenish.

It did not require great power of penetration to understand that, owing to the scant resources available at this harbor, it would take more days to get the necessary fuel on board than it would take Admiral Sampson, Commander of the United States fleet, to find out that circumstance, and that consequently the Spanish fleet would be blockaded, as indeed it was; and as a natural and logical inference, that the enemy's objective would be the city and harbor of Santiago, where the only battle ships that Spain had in the Antilles, or at least in the Greater Antilla, had taken refuge.

Thus, the arrival of the fleet gave this city a military importance which without that event it would never have acquired, and changed it to the principal—not to say, the only—scene of operations in the island, the dénouement of which would necessarily be of great interest and of powerful influence on the result of the campaign and the war. Subsequent events have shown the truth of my assumption, which was also the assumption of everybody else in the city.

From that time on, I have kept an exact diary, from day to day, from hour to hour, from minute to minute even—and when I say this I am not exaggerating, for it is still in existence and may be seen—of everything I saw, or that came to my notice, or that passed through my hands in my official capacity, or that I knew to be accurate and trustworthy.

When some official duty prevented me, I was ably replaced by my friend, Mr. Dario Laguna, aid of the captaincy of the port (ayudante de la capitanía de puerto), who gladly rendered the service I asked of him, in spite of his constant and manifold obligations.

If truth is a merit, these "Notes" (begging pardon for my want of modesty) possess it, though it may be their only merit. Whatever they contain has actually happened, and those who have returned from Santiago will testify to it. Not a single fact, no matter how insignificant, herein related, is doubtful or hypothetical. Wherever I did not know the outcome of any event, or where its objects or consequences have remained a mystery, I have openly acknowledged it, without circumlocution, as any one may see who reads these notes. There is in them nothing of my own invention, and my imagination has had nothing to do with them, unfortunately, for I do not possess the gift of invention, which I admire so much in others. My work has been confined to gathering data and obtaining as much information as possible, my only care having been to see that everything was correct, and I have made sure of this by comparing the data collected with the information obtained.

Feeling sure that the events which have taken place from May 18 to July 17—hence the true situation in which were Santiago de Cuba and the forces defending it—can not be known in Spain in detail, but only in general, I am desirous of making them known in their whole truth, so that the country, to whom I think that we who were intrusted with defending its honor and interests at a distance of fifteen hundred leagues, owe the strictest account, may be able, with a complete knowledge of the facts, to call us to account, if it thinks that we have incurred any responsibility.

Such has been my object, and I trust that my comrades of Santiago de Cuba, both in the Army and in the Navy, will approve of it.

SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *August 10, 1898.*

IX.

THE TWO FLEETS.

When the war between Spain and the United States became a fact, it is hard to tell how much was said and written about the Spanish fleet, or rather, fleets; everybody knows of the thousands of items which appeared in the newspapers concerning the purchase of ships, to such an extent that, if all could have been believed, our navy would have been vastly superior to that of the United States, in number and quality. And this is so true that the least optimistic, the most reasonable people, those whom we considered best informed as belonging to the profession and who knew to a certain extent what we could expect, counted on not less than eight battle ships leaving the Peninsula, to say nothing of the transports, torpedo boats, destroyers, etc. How much we were mistaken!

On the 19th of May, at 5.50 o'clock a. m., the look-out signaled five steamers to the south; shortly after it was signaled that the five steamers were five warships, and a little later that they were Spanish. So the much wished-for fleet had arrived, which, according to the newspapers, was under the command of Vice Admiral Butler.

At 7.15, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, hoisting the rear admiral's flag, was sighted from the captaincy of the port; a few minutes later, she cast anchor in the bay, some distance from the royal pier, her draught not permitting her to go nearer. Then the *Vizcaya*, *Oquendo*, and *Cristóbal Colón* anchored one after the other, the last named with the flag of the second-in-command (brigadier); then the destroyer *Plutón* entered, went out again without anchoring, and returned an hour later with the *Furor*, of the same class, and both anchored at a convenient place.

The day when the fleet entered Santiago harbor was one of those beautiful mornings that are so frequent in tropical countries; not the slightest breeze rippled the surface of the water, not the least cloud was to be seen in the deep blue sky, and still, notwithstanding all that the local papers have said, very few were the people who came down to witness the arrival of the ships. With the exception of the official element and a small number of Peninsulars, the arrival of our warships inspired no interest, nor even curiosity.

And I say this and want it understood, because it is the best proof of the sympathies which the country professes for us and of which it gives us constantly unquestionable proofs whenever opportunity offers.

The fleet was under the command of the eminent Rear Admiral Pascual Cevera who, as already stated, had hoisted his flag on the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, Captain Joaquin Bustamente being chief of the general staff. The second in command was Captain José de Paredes, who had hoisted his flag on the *Cristóbal Colón*.

The *Infanta Maria Teresa*, built at the Nervión shipyards, is a ship of 103.63 metres length, 19.81 beam, and 7,000 tons displacement, with a draught of 6.55 metres. Her engines develop 13,700 I. H. P., giving her a speed of 20.25 miles. Her armament consists of two 28-cm. Hontoria guns (mounted in turrets, one forward and one aft); ten 14-cm. Hontoria guns; eight 57-mm. Nordenfeldt rapid-fire guns; eight 37-mm. Hotchkiss revolving guns, and two 11-mm. machine guns. She was commanded by Captain Victor Concas.

The *Vizcaya*, commanded by Captain Antonio Eulate, and the *Oquendo*, commanded by Captain Juan B. Lagaza, are exactly like the *Maria Teresa* and built at the same yards.

The *Cristóbal Colón*, under the command of Captain Emilio Diaz Moreu, was acquired in Genoa from the firm of Ansaldo. She is 100 metres long by 18.20 beam; her displacement is 6,840 tons and her draught 7.75 metres; her speed is 20 miles and her engines develop 13,000 I. H. P. Her armament consists of two 254-mm. Armstrong guns (in turrets); ten 132-mm. guns; six 120-mm. guns; ten 57-mm. Nordenfeldt guns; ten 37-mm. and two machine guns.

Important note: The last-named ship, her 254-mm. or large calibre guns mounted in turrets not being ready, had to go without them.

The destroyer *Plutón* was commanded by Lieutenant Pedro Vázquez, and the *Furor*, of the same class, by Lieutenant Diego Carlier; both of them were under the command of Captain Fernando Villamil.

The arrival of these six ships produced real enthusiasm among the better peninsular element in Santiago, especially as nobody wanted to believe that they were the only ones that Spain was going to send, since they were called the "first division," and at least two more divisions were expected. The only ones who had no illusions, who knew what to expect, who were acquainted with the true condition of affairs, were those who had arrived in the ships. From the admiral down to the last midshipman, they

knew perfectly well that there were no more fleets, no more divisions, no more vessels, and that those six ships (if the destroyers may be counted as such) were all that could be counted on to oppose the American fleet, which consists of the following ships, not including those in construction, and taking into account only armored and protected ships—that is, those of the first and second classes:

Iowa, 11,340 tons, steel, first-class battle ship, 18 guns.

Indiana, 10,288 tons, steel, first-class battle ship, 16 guns.

Massachusetts, 10,288 tons, steel, first-class battle ship, 16 guns.

Oregon, 10,288 tons, steel, first-class battle ship, 16 guns.

Brooklyn, 9,215 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 20 guns.

New York, 9,200 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 18 guns.

Columbia, 7,375 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 11 guns.

Minneapolis, 7,375 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 11 guns.

Texas, 6,315 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 8 guns.

Puritan, 6,060 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 10 guns.

Olympia, 5,870 tons, steel, first-class protected cruiser, 14 guns.

Chicago, 4,500 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 18 guns.

Baltimore, 4,413 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 10 guns.

Philadelphia, 4,324 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 12 guns.

Monterey, 4,084 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser (with turrets), 4 guns.

Newark, 4,098 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 12 guns.

San Francisco, 4,098 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 12 guns.

Charleston, 3,730 tons, steel, second-class protected cruiser, 8 guns.

Miantonomoh, 3,990 tons, iron, monitor, 4 guns.

Amphritite, 3,990 tons, iron, monitor, 6 guns.

Monadnock, 3,990 tons, iron, monitor, 6 guns.

Terror, 3,990 tons, iron, monitor, 4 guns.

Cincinnati, 3,213 tons, iron, second-class protected cruiser, 11 guns.

Raleigh, 3,213 tons, iron, second-class protected cruiser, 11 guns.

Note: Before war was declared, they bought of Brazil the *Amazonas*, a magnificent protected cruiser of more than 6,000 tons, with perfect armament. She was one of the ships that blockaded this port.

It is to be noted that in the first eleven ships enumerated, the number of guns stated is only that of the large-calibre guns, that

is, from 16-cm. upward, without including rapid-fire, revolving, machine guns, etc.

The first four, namely, the *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Massachusetts*, and *Oregon*, have four 32-cm. guns each, that is to say, larger guns than the medium-calibre ones of the *Maria Teresa*, *Oquendo*, and *Viscaya*, each of which had but two 28-cm. guns. The *Cristóbal Colón*, as has already been stated, did not have her large guns mounted.

Shortly after the fleet had anchored, the civil and military authorities went on board to pay their respects to Admiral Cervera.

It will be remembered that these ships had been assembled at the Cape Verde Islands and that many notes were exchanged on that subject between the Governments of Spain and the United States, until finally the Spanish Government gave definite orders for the ships to proceed to the Island of Cuba.

They arrived at Martinique, where they left the destroyer *Terror*, commanded by Lieut. Francisco de la Rocha, for the reason that the vessel had sustained injuries to her boiler and was no longer able to follow the fleet. From Martinique, the ships proceeded to Curaçao, where only two ships could take a small quantity of coal, as the laws of that Dutch colony did not allow any more to enter the harbor. Finally, as stated above, the fleet reached this harbor, without having met Admiral Sampson's fleet, whether accidentally, or whether Admiral Cervera went by way of Curaçao on purpose to mislead the American admiral, I do not know.

X.

PROVISIONS OF THE CITY.

So far my task has been, if not easy, at least pleasant, for in honor of the truth and deference to justice, I will say that all persons who have so far figured, directly or indirectly, in the events under discussion, deserve praise and congratulations. Unfortunately, I can not say as much regarding the question of provisions, which is of such great importance, and has had so much to do with the capitulation of this city.

It is far from me to want to mention or censure any person or persons in particular. I am citing facts which everyone knows, and I believe it to be a duty which I must not shun to set forth everything with perfect impartiality. I am making history, and with that I have said everything.

The city of Santiago de Cuba has never been very well supplied and provisions have never been abundant there.

It is only just to state that the whole military element of the province and also the hospitals were nine or ten months in arrears in the payment of consignments. They had been living on credit for some time, and the firms furnishing the supplies, not being able to order new ones and meet their obligations, had allowed their stores to run very low. We were passing through one of those crisis which were so frequent in our last war, and which, unfortunately, are being repeated in this, owing to the parsimony of the Treasury.

But now, under the circumstances in which Santiago de Cuba was, the problem assumed more serious shape, for living became almost impossible. Everything was lacking; articles of food, prospects, money; our credit and purchasing resources were exhausted. And this was the case not only at the capital, but extended to the whole division. What happened at Santiago, also happened at Manzanillo, Holguin, Puerto Príncipe, Ciego de Avila, Morón, Spíritus, and other places of the island, namely, the cities supplied the people of the surrounding country and the latter had no provisions or stores to furnish in return.

Moreover, the merchants of this city, little given to great enterprises and risky speculations, did not have on hand any more than

what they felt sure they could sell in a short time. And, therefore, I repeat it, provisions, even those of first necessity, were certainly not abundant, and everybody knew that when the hostile ships should arrive to blockade the city, as must happen sooner or later, these would soon give out. A few families understood it and laid in supplies in anticipation of what was to come, and they certainly did not regret it, for their fears were realized, although, be it said in honor of the truth, there was no motive or reason to justify such a condition of affairs.

War was officially declared on April 21, and until the 18th of May not a single hostile ship appeared in sight of the harbor. There were in it five Spanish merchant vessels, which were prevented from leaving by the breaking out of hostilities, the *Méjico*, *Montera*, *San Juan*, *Reina de los Angeles*, and *Tomas Brooks*. Jamaica is only 80 miles from Santiago, and yet not a single sack of flour entered the city since before the 21st of April, when a small English sailing schooner came from there with a cargo of butter, potatoes, onions, and corn meal, which she sold for a good price without landing it at the custom-house. The example was not followed; everybody saw the possibility of the conflict which had to come without trying to prevent it.

Had it not been for the arrival of the German steamer Polaria, which, fortunately, left at Santiago 1,700 sacks of rice intended for Havana, there would have been an absolute lack of provisions, as neither the merchants nor anyone else attempted to import them.

The last provisions entering the trading houses were brought by the steamer *Mortera* on the 25th of April, consisting of 150 head of cattle, 180,000 rations of flour, 149,000 of peas, 197,000 of rice, 79,000 of beans, and 96,000 of wine. Now, without including the forces of Guantánamo, Baracoa, and Sagua de Tánamo, the needs of the troops of Santiago de Cuba amounted to 360,000 rations a month. Thus it will be seen that the provisions on hand in the trading houses the last days of April were hardly sufficient for half a month.

And this is not the worst; but the merchants, far from contributing to the welfare of the army, which in reality was defending their interests, hid whatever they could and raised the prices in a manner which I do not wish to qualify, taking advantage of the sad stress to which the blockade had reduced the city.

An example will show this better than anything I may say on the subject. The man who had the contract of furnishing water at the bay, relying on the letter of his contract, tried to charge the ships of the fleet for the water which they were getting at Las Cruces pier, this water being the property of the American company of the Juragua mines, for which the Spanish Government

could therefore not contract, and was conveyed on board by means of the water pipes, which are there for that purpose, the pump being kept going night and day by the soldiers of Colonel Borry's column. Nearly all the ships took over 500 pipes of water each, which, at 4 pesetas a pipe, amounts to several thousand dollars. The contractor in question, whose name I do not wish to remember, is from the peninsula, a captain of volunteers, and, as he says himself, "a better Spaniard than Pelayo."

I do not know what news may have reached the Peninsula about the conditions at Santiago de Cuba. It is possible that people believed there that only certain articles of food were lacking; if that is the case, they are greatly mistaken. People here have suffered from actual hunger, and many persons have starved to death, although the population had been greatly decreased, since whole families had left prior to the 21st day of April. I, myself, saw a man who had died of hunger in the entrance of the Brooks House opposite the captaincy of the port—died because he had nothing to eat.

Horses, dogs, and other animals were dying from hunger in the streets and public places and the worst thing was that their carcasses were not removed. I also saw—this is significant on account of the fatal consequences that might follow—I saw, I repeat, a dog throw himself upon a smaller one and kill and devour him. The water from the aqueduct had been cut off, as will be seen, and the city was exposed to the danger of the dogs going mad, and we should have had that calamity to add to the many that were weighing upon us. But why go on? What I have said is more than sufficient to show the immense responsibility incurred by those who might have supplied the city with provisions, and who neglected and eluded so sacred a duty.

There were orders and decrees published regulating the price of articles of first necessity, but the merchants paid no attention to them, as though they did not concern them, and the raising of prices was the more unjustifiable and inexcusable, as everything that was in the city had been there prior to the declaration of war, and had cost no more freight or duty than in normal times.

If there had been flour and bacon, the soldiers might not have become weakened and sick, and yet they fought as the Spanish soldier always has fought. What a contrast between him and the merchant of this city! But there are things which it is better not to air and this is one of them.

XI.

COALING.

The fleet which left the Cape Verde Islands, which took no coal at Martinique where it touched, and which at Curaçao took on only a few tons in two of the ships, arrived here, as was natural, with the bunkers almost empty. Admiral Cervera prepared to replenish them, and it may be easily imagined how imperative it was to hasten an operation without which the ships were unable to execute a single maneuver, even though their very salvation might depend on it.

Unfortunately, the harbor of Santiago, where there is little movement of shipping, has but very scant means and resources, especially since the breaking out of the present insurrection.

There were only four steamers—the *Alcyon*, *Juraguá*, *Esmeralda*, and *Colón*. The first two do not possess the necessary requirements for towing launches; the *Esmeralda* does very well when the sea is calm and there is not much head wind; the only one that has all the necessary requirements is the *Colón*, but the *Colón* was having her boiler overhauled and it required a week to finish the work, which was indispensable. Unfortunately, the gunboat *Alvarado*, which might have rendered good services, was in dock renewing her bottom planks, and the work was very slow.

The army, in its turn, also had a great deal of work on hand which it could not possibly leave, such as taking supplies to the Morro, water to Punta Gorda, and war material and ammunition to both of these places and to the Socapa, and the chiefs and officers were needed for directing all the work undertaken.

The only launches and lighters in the harbor were those of Messrs. Ros, some of them useless, others in bad repair, and a few only in condition to be used; besides these there were those of the Juraguá Company, which were good but few in number, and, as they belong to American subjects, it was not easy for the Government to get them. With such small resources and with so much that had to be done, it will be understood how difficult it was, not to say impossible, to accomplish everything.

To give even an imperfect idea of the lack of appliances of every description, I will mention that the contractor of water, which

latter is very bad and for which he charges exorbitant prices, had, for the purpose of supplying the ships, only two small rudder boats, each with two pipes (about four hogsheads), and there were four ships requiring 1,500 pipes each, without counting the destroyers.

Naturally all the demands, requests, and complaints, everything the fleet needed, wanted or desired, went to the comandancia de marina, the personnel of which consisted of the commander, the second in command, the aide, the paymaster, three enlisted seamen (cabos de matrícula), one of whom had charge of the provision stores, and two orderlies, and with this personnel everything had to be done that was asked for and everything furnished that was wanted.

The army wanted a tug, the military government wanted a tug and launches, and the fleet wanted launches and a tug, and all wanted them badly, and all the services were important and urgent, and at the captaincy of the port we constantly had to solve problems that had no solution, and furnish launches that did not exist and tugs that were not to be found.

The coaling, which went on day and night, progressed very slowly, in spite of everything; for at the two piers where the coal was there was very little water, and at the end of each pier only one lighter could be accommodated without danger of running aground, in which case it would have been necessary to wait for high water to float it again.

There is no end to the time and work which it took to put the Cardiff coal of the navy depot on board the ships, and though laborers were hired for the Cumberland coal of the Juraguá mines, the ships, which never stopped coaling as long as as they stayed at Santiago, never succeeded in filling their bunkers. One detail will show the lack of means available at the port. Although every store in the town was visited and any price offered for baskets, only a very limited number could be found for carrying the coal; it had to be put in as best it could.

There is some work that can neither be understood nor appreciated, that passes by unnoticed and of which people do not even have an idea, because it does not constitute actions of war, more or less brilliant, and which yet can not be kept up nor stood for any length of time. We who belonged to the captaincy of the port finally dined, breakfasted, and slept there—or rather, did not sleep there, for there never was a night when it was not necessary to transmit to the admiral two or three urgent papers, orders, or other cablegrams, at all hours, and the telephone did not stop a minute and did not give us any rest. Still it was not the work that made

the situation unbearable; what soldier or sailor did not work desperately at Santiago de Cuba? No, the sad, the lamentable thing was that, being so anxious to please all, we were unable to satisfy anybody.

The coal belonging to the navy, consisting of 2,300 tons of Cardiff, was taken on at the piers of Bellavista, situated in the western part of the bay. Besides this, General Linares placed at Admiral Cervera's disposal about 600 tons of Cumberland coal from the Juraguá mines and 600 tons from the Sabanilla railway.

The water had to be gotten by the boats of the fleet in bulk at the piers of Las Cruces and at the faucet near the Royal Pier. Some of the ships got their own water by going alongside the first-named pier.

XII.

OPINIONS AS TO WHY THE FLEET DID NOT GO OUT.

In narrating the events of Santiago, it was not my intention to make remarks of any kind on them, nor to permit myself comments thereon, as I consider that I have neither the authority, nor the ability (and this I do not say from false modesty), nor the right to do so. My object has been to give a simple account of what I witnessed, what I saw, and what I heard from trustworthy sources, and of the authenticity of which I am certain, feeling sure that in Spain, though the facts are known as a whole, they are not known there in detail; but in the presence of certain insinuations and certain doubts I can not remain silent and indifferent.

Great was the joy caused by the arrival of the fleet among the peninsular element generally and some of the sons of Cuba who truly love us. But after a few days, a number of intelligent and prominent people, or at least recognized as such, showed great impatience and surprise that the ships should remain in port, and never got tired asking what the fleet was doing there and why it did not go out.

It is easy to answer that question.

If Admiral Cervera can be accused of anything, it is an excess of courage. One need only read his record of service to be convinced of that, and the third day of July proved it only too well. Admiral Cervera received many cablegrams and official letters; no one knew better than he did what was going on in Spain and in Cuba, and what was being ordered and required of him, and that Admiral Cervera acted as he should have done admits of no discussion. My only object is to answer the question which so many were asking in Santiago: "What was the fleet doing there?" What was it doing? Well, a great deal.

It is not always great battles or great fights that decide the outcome of a campaign. Napoleon I, by an admirable maneuver, closed in on the Austrian General Marck at Ulm, and the latter had to surrender with his whole army without having fired a single shot.

When Admiral Villeneuve, who unfortunately commanded the allied fleets of France and Spain, learned that Admiral Rossilly, appointed to relieve him, was at Madrid, he preferred to fight with Nelson rather than present himself before Napoleon. So he decided to leave Cadiz, and he called together the commanders of both fleets on the ship *Bucentaure*. The Spanish objected, on the grounds that, in order to leave Cadiz, they needed time and a favorable wind, that the ships were in need of repairs, had to replenish their provisions and ammunition and complete their crews, that the season was far advanced, and that, if the English were compelled to blockade them in winter, it would be equivalent for them to the loss of a naval battle; that was the opinion of men like Gravina, Churruca, and Galiano.

They added that, moreover, the barometer was very low and that a storm was imminent, whereupon Rear Admiral Magón replied "that what was low was the courage in some hearts." At this insult, the Spanish, losing all prudence and calm, decided to go out in search of the enemy to prove that they still retained their courage. That was all that the French admiral wanted. The combined fleets went out, and what happened at Cape Trafalgar is well known.

Now, then, the question is answered already: the ships were compelling the enemy to sustain with superior forces the blockade of Santiago de Cuba, with all its difficulties and dangers. While our ships were in port, safe from the ordinary dangers of the sea, using hardly any coal, not exhausting their engines, and waiting for a favorable opportunity to maneuver, when and as best they could, the hostile fleet was obliged to cruise on the coast day and night, using a great deal of coal, constantly doing sea service, which is always laborious, especially in time of war, exhausting their engines, and exposed to the danger of having to abandon the blockade in case of a storm from the south or east, still more if the season of cyclones should come.

It is certainly true that a victory can be achieved without the necessity of giving battle, so much so that, if it had been possible for us, besides the ships that were at Santiago, to have two at Cienfuegos, for instance, and two more at Nuevitas, which ports are well suited for placing lines of torpedoes, owing to their narrow entrances, there is no doubt but that the Americans, who, outside of the ships they had in the Philippines, had sent their whole fleet to the island of Cuba, would have had to blockade those three ports with forces superior to ours and to keep watch at Key West if they did not want to expose themselves to a serious disaster, or would have had to force one of the ports, thereby exposing themselves to a hecatomb; and we only need think of

the number of their ships to understand that they could not successfully threaten so many points; though they only had to deal with Santiago and had almost all the ships of the fleet in front of it, they would have found it necessary to desist from taking the offensive.

The foregoing shows that ships do not necessarily have to give battle in order to obtain results. Those in Santiago harbor succeeded for forty-six days in keeping before the mouth of the harbor a vastly superior fleet, which performed no special acts of prowess except to throw a hail of projectiles which comparatively did very little damage. One could not obtain better results with less work; and if provisions had not been wanting in Santiago, God knows, if our fleet had remained there, to what extremes impatience and despair might not have carried Admiral Sampson!

XIII.

THE BLOCKADE.

As I have already given a description, though very deficient, of the sites and places that were the scene of these events (IV: Scene of Events), and of the miserable resources we had for their defense, it will be easy to understand them by remembering and fixing the attention on what has been said.

I have already stated that on the 18th of May, the *Saint Louis*, equipped for war, and a gunboat whose name could not be ascertained, fired about 80 shots, which were answered by Punta Gorda, the only battery that was then in condition to answer the attack. If it had happened a few hours later, one of the 16-cm. Hontoria guns of the Socapa could have been fired, but as stated, it was not mounted until the night of the 18th. The hostile ships disappeared to the east. The next day, the 19th, the Spanish fleet, coming from Curaçao, entered the harbor and commenced to coal on the 20th.

21st.—This day, a ship coming from the south came close to the mouth of the harbor, then shaping her course westward. At 10.30 p. m. the Morro telephone gave notice that two ships had been firing on Punta Cabrera for 15 minutes, ten shots in all. Probably they were firing at Colonel Aldea's forces, which covered that part of the coast.

22d.—At 7 a. m. the look-out signaled a steamer to the east and another half an hour later. We learned from the Morro that one of them appeared to be the same that had been sighted the day before; the other was a three-master. Both of them were thought to be hostile vessels because they were going very slowly and reconnoitering the coast. The new one had three smokestacks.

At 11.30 the vessels were south of the Morro (that is, in front of it), proceeding very slowly westward, where they disappeared at half-past four.

23d.—At 5.45 a vessel was signaled to the south and an hour later two to the east. At 9 the Morro said that one of the three vessels had three smokestacks, the same that had been sighted the day before, and one was a battle ship, and that flag signals were being made.

At 11.30 a vessel was signaled to the west; at 12.30 the Morro said that the vessel just arrived had three masts and three smokestacks.

At 4.10 we learned by telephone that one of the four vessels had disappeared to the south and the others were coming closer to the mouth of the harbor.

At 7 the three ships disappeared, one to the east and two to the south.

24th.—At 2 o'clock the lookout signaled two steamers to the south. The sky was clouded and nothing could be distinguished beyond a certain distance.

At 11.45 the destroyer *Pluton* went out.

At 12.30 four hostile vessels were distinguished, though with difficulty, owing to the cloudy weather, to the east of the mouth of the harbor.

When seeing the *Pluton* go out, one of them shaped her course to the westward and passed close to the destroyer without being able to attack her, then proceeded westward. The others started in the same direction, also in pursuit of her, but without success, as the *Pluton* had naturally eluded meeting them.

The four vessels disappeared to the westward.

At 2 o'clock, the Spanish flagship (*Infanta Maria Teresa*) started up and went alongside the Las Cruces Pier for water.

At 5.30 two vessels were signaled to the south; they disappeared in that direction after dark.

25th.—At 6 o'clock two steamers were signaled, one to the south and one to the west.

At 7.30 the *Cristóbal Colón* started up and shortly after cast anchor again.

At the same hour, the Morro reported that one of the two vessels signaled was apparently heading toward the harbor at full speed, and the other seemed to be chasing her. Three-quarters of an hour later it was reported that the vessel appeared to have been captured at quite a distance from the mouth of Santiago harbor, and that both were going south, the captured vessel ahead and the other following.

The *Infanta Maria Teresa* sheered off from Las Cruces Pier at 1 o'clock p. m., and the *Oquendo* then went alongside, also to take water; the former anchored again in the bay.

At 2 o'clock the *Vizcaya* cast anchor south of Cay Ratones, near Cajuma Bay. The *Cristóbal Colón* anchored south of Punta Gorda.

26th.—At 2 o'clock p. m. the *Oquendo* left Las Cruces Pier and anchored again in the bay.

The position of the fleet was as follows: The *Cristóbal Colón* was at anchor south of Punta Gorda, close to it, presenting her broadside to the mouth of the harbor, in line with the channel to which

she presented her guns, so as to be able to attack the enemy in case he should try to force it.

The *Vizcaya* close to Cajumas Bay, facing the same as the *Colón* so as to unite their fire in case the enemy should succeed in passing Punta Soldado.

The *Maria Teresa* and *Oquendo* south of Cay Ratones, so as to defend the channel of Punta Gorda as well as the general anchoring place and the city. During the day three ships were sighted to the south, and disappeared shortly after in the same direction.

27th.—At 6 the lookout signaled two vessels to the south.

At 11.30 it signaled five more ships. There were now seven in sight.

At 12.15 General Linares went to the Morro in the steamboat of the captaincy of the port.

At 12.30 four more ships were sighted; total, eleven ships.

Of the eleven ships in sight, four are battle ships.

At 2.30 p. m. another ship arrived.

At nightfall General Linares returned from the Morro. The ships disappeared to the south.

28th.—At 6.15 the lookout signaled a vessel within 5 miles of the Morro, and at noon she disappeared to the south.

At 4.30 p. m. six large ships were signaled, disappearing to the south at nightfall.

29th.—At daybreak the destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor* went out to reconnoiter, returning at 8.

During the day they anchored in the bay; at night they cast anchor at the Socapa and at Nispero Bay in order to guard the entrance of the harbor.

General Linares went to the Morro in the tug *Alcyon.*

At 7, seven hostile ships were sighted reconnoitering the coast, at a distance of about 8 miles; they withdrew to the south before dark.

30th.—At 5.30 the hostile fleet was signaled approaching to within 9 miles of the harbor. It consisted of seven ships.

At noon three others arrived from the south and joined the former.

31st.—At 5.45 the lookout signaled eleven ships to the south.

At 2 p. m. gun fire was heard. The lookout reported that the coast was being fired on.

At 2.40 Punta Gorda battery opened fire, ceasing again shortly after.

The ships of the Spanish fleet hoisted their battle flags and fired up their boilers.

At 2.30 the firing was quite lively.

By 3 it became slower and ceased at 3.30.

The enemy had been firing on the Morro and Socapa batteries, without any casualty in either.

The ships disappeared, as usual, to the south before dark.

Thus ends the events of the month of May, insignificant on the whole and only a prologue to those that were to follow.

During the days of May 20th to 22d, the insurgent chief Calixto Garcia, with a numerous contingent of troops and artillery, attacked the village of Palma Soriano on the Cauto river. General Vara de Rey, at the head of 1,000 men and two guns, repulsed the hostile forces, routing them and killing a great many. On our side we had 16 wounded. This operation of the soldier hero, simulating a surrounding movement by crossing the Cauto at three or four fords, and pursuing the rebels 2 miles beyond Palma Soriano, was due to the skillful distribution of the scant forces of the line of observation. This line, as will be readily understood from the chart at the end of the book, was weak, very weak, in almost its whole extent. It was, indeed, work that deserves praise, to guard, patrol, and sustain strategic points, cultivated land, coasts, roads, and railroads, with such a small and weak contingent of troops. And the forces that we were expecting from Havana, and the arrival of which had been announced, did not appear.

As a collier was being expected, it was supposed that the vessel captured on the 25th was the one. It is possible; but, on the other hand, it may not have been. In any event, there was much surprise expressed at Santiago that, since the hostile fleet was not in sight, but only one or two vessels, Admiral Cervera had not prevented the capture, or at least recovered the prize.

The reason why he did not is very simple. Our fleet had taken on board all the Cardiff coal that was at the navy depot, without succeeding, as has been seen, in filling its bunkers, and there remained only the 1,100 tons of Cumberland coal of which Gen. Linares could dispose; this latter coal is inferior to the former, and I believe it is hardly necessary for me to point out how important it is that a fleet should have good fuel; it may be its salvation at a given moment; consequently the fleet, which had the prospect of having extremely difficult maneuvers of the highest importance to execute, could not afford to waste even a single piece of coal to no purpose.

The capture took place a long distance from the mouth of the harbor; before a ship could weigh anchor, clear the channel, get up full steam and traverse that distance, at least three hours must elapse, and where would have been the captor and the prize by that time? And even granting that the former could not bring the latter in safety, would he allow it to fall into our hands? Certainly not. Two gunshots would have sunk her very quickly, especially

if, as was believed, she had a heavy cargo; and the *Colón*, or any other ship that had gone out on that errand, would have consumed, probably to no purpose, a quantity of coal which it was imperative to keep for much more important and less hazardous operations than pursuing merchant steamers equipped for war and taking or recapturing prizes. Moreover, from the 22d to the 28th, the swell of the sea prevented the ships from going out; the pilots of the harbor were not willing to take them out, saying that in view of the state of the sea, they might touch bottom, especially the *Cristóbal Colón*.

XV.

WAITING.

The events of the month of May, although they are not, or rather do not appear to be, of great importance in themselves, because there were no special movements on the part of the enemy and no casualties of any kind on ours, are in reality of great importance, and their consequences have had great influence and weight on the result of the war, which has been decided, so to speak, in the waters of Santiago de Cuba and in front of the trenches in this precinct.

If we take into consideration the position of Santiago de Cuba, situated at the southern extremity of the island, and therefore at a comparative distance from the United States and Key West, the base of operations of the Yankees; the topography of its harbor, difficult in itself to force; the absence of military importance of the city, which is not a stronghold or even a military city, and the scarcity of roads and railways so that it is almost cut off from communication with any important or strategic point, it is not too much to assume that the Americans had no idea of making great demonstrations or operations, but thought that it would be sufficient to blockade it, and throw in a few projectiles as they had done at other cities on the coast, and a proof of this is that, until the 18th of May, that is, nearly a month after the declaration of war, not a single hostile vessel was seen, and the two that appeared then were a merchant vessel equipped for war and a small gunboat, which, after reconnoitering, disappeared to the east.

But the arrival of the Spanish fleet, though composed of only four battleships, but these the only ones of that class which we had in the island, and therefore the only ones that could inspire any fear, the absolute necessity of replenishing them with coal, which took a number of days, because, in view of the scarcity of facilities of any kind it could not be done in less time, compelled the enemy to make the city, and especially the harbor where the fleet was at anchor, their objective, although they had not taken much thought of it at first; to concentrate upon this objective all their forces on sea and on land, and to take for the scene of the war one which was least adapted for their plans and which they had least thought of choosing.

When did they learn that our ships had anchored in the harbor? I do not know; nor do I believe that anybody in Santiago knows it. If the *St. Louis* and the gunboat which has been mentioned several times returned from Guantánamo on the 19th, where they went presumably to continue the blockade when they left these waters, there is no doubt but that they could see our ships and some people think that they at once notified their admiral, but I doubt it, because it was not until the 27th that ships appeared in such numbers as would make it possible to check or defeat ours.

It might be said in answer to this that the hostile fleet may have had a thousand reasons, which we could not know, for this delay in assembling and appearing at the harbor. It is possible, but in that case, if the enemy knew ever since the 19th, what had happened, why did they continue to appear in small numbers before the mouth of the harbor, exposing themselves to serious trouble? I do not believe that the enemy received any information on the subject, or at least complete evidence, until the 24th, when the vessels which were cruising in Santiago waters, saw the *Plutón* come out and go back again, for they knew that she accompanied the fleet and formed part of it. It was three days later, the 27th, that eleven ships appeared, four of them, at least, battle ships. This interval of time was necessary, of course, to advise the hostile fleet, which was perhaps between Cape San Antonio and Havana, or Cape San Antonio and Cienfuegos.

In any event, the operations of the month of May assumed great importance, for the harbor remained closed, where since before the declaration of war no provisions of any kind had entered, if we except those which the small English schooner already mentioned brought from Jamaica, and which are hardly worth taking into consideration.

Another problem: Why did the hostile ships which remained all day long in front of the mouth of the harbor disappear at dark instead of continuing to watch it during the night? I do not know that either. The whole coast is accessible and the ground so high that it can be distinguished perfectly even in stormy weather, so that there was no danger in remaining there in calm weather such as we have had all this year (for even in that Providence had favored them), and what I say is true, as shown by the fact that afterwards they never left the mouth of the harbor for a single moment, day or night, as will be seen.

Was it perhaps because they had become convinced of the difficulty of forcing the harbor, especially with a fleet inside, and wanted, by opening a passage, give the fleet a chance to come out in order to take refuge in another harbor less difficult of access? But such tactics might have had fatal results, because if our ships

should reach Havana harbor, a few hours from Key West, under the protection of its 300 guns, and united with the other warships that were there, the situation would have become materially changed, and the Americans might have had a chance to regret such tactics. That they should have made such a mistake is not to be thought of; besides, if that had been their intention, they would not have maintained such vigilance during the day. Were they simulating a retreat to return at night to the harbor, without lights, so as not to be seen? That is not probable; in order to see the mouth of the harbor they must have been seen themselves from the heights of the Morro or Socapa, where the strictest watch was also exercised. I suppose, for I can not think of anything else, that, not having been able as yet to unite all their naval forces, they did not want to run the risk of a battle at night with a fleet that had destroyers, the number of which they probably did not know, and did not learn until later, through the secret information which they probably received from the insurgents.

But all this is only supposition and hypothesis, no doubt entirely erroneous. The incontrovertible, undeniable fact is that, on the 27th, the enemy appeared with forces much superior to ours and remained all day long opposite the Morro, retreating at night, or simulating retreat. Thus ended the month of May.

XVI.

THE MERRIMAC.

June 1st.—At 6 o'clock the look-out signaled the hostile fleet in sight, consisting of thirteen ships; five battle ships and eight merchant and warships, among them one torpedo boat.

At 7 o'clock gun shots were heard.

At 12.30 the fleet started up, moving away from the harbor from which it was about 6 miles distant; half an hour later it reversed its course and came again closer.

At night the Spanish fleet changed its anchoring place.

The *Maria Teresa* and *Vizcaya* anchored south of, and with their broadsides towards Cay Ratones and were forming the first line for the defense of the harbor. The *Colón* and *Oquendo* anchored north of the same Cay and were forming the second line.

2nd.—At 5.30 nineteen ships appeared at the mouth of the harbor, at a distance of about 5 miles.

At 7 the Morro reported that they were going to fire a few shots to discharge some of the guns.

3rd.—At 3.30 gunshots were being heard towards the mouth of the harbor and the firing became very lively.

At 4 o'clock it was learned at the comandancia de marina that a merchant vessel had come very close to the mouth of the channel; that the batteries had fired at her and she had not answered; and at that moment she was already inside; shortly after she passed by the bow of the *Reina Mercedes*, which, it will be remembered, was moored between the Socapa and Cay Smith, with her bow towards the channel which she was defending with her two 16-cm. Hontoria guns and Whitehead torpedoes.

By 4.20 the firing, which had been very violent, ceased.

At 4.30 it was learned that the hostile ship had gone down in the mouth of the channel, close to Punta Soldado, but without obstructing it.

At 5.30, it now being daylight, very slow firing was again heard and ceased at 6.

At 5.30 the commandant of marine went to the mouth of the harbor in the steam launch.

When he returned, we learned that one of the merchant vessels forming part of the American fleet, called the *Merrimac*, with two masts and one smokestack, larger than the *Méjico*, had forced the entrance at 5.30; that she had been sunk in the channel close to Punta Soldado, by the guns of the *Mercedes* and the rapid-fire guns of the battery below the Socapa, and was lying in the direction of the Socapa, without obstructing the entrance or preventing our ships from going out, and that one lieutenant and seven sailors forming her crew had been captured and were on board the *Mercedes*.

Besides the firing on the vessel from the guns, the *Pluton* launched two torpedoes and the *Mercedes* two more. Two submarine mines were discharged from the first line and one from the second.

During the events related above, General Linares was at the Morro, where he had repaired by land on receipt of the first news. At daybreak, General Toral, military governor of Santiago, came to assist the navy with a force of regulars and volunteers.

At 7 a company went to reenforce the forces at the Socapa and the Morro.

At 7.30 the forces that had come to assist the navy withdrew.

At 11 p. m. firing was heard at a great distance in a southeasterly direction; it ceased at 12.15. The fire was extremely slow.

As may have been noticed, on June 1 the enemy appeared before the Morro with thirteen ships, five of them battle ships and eight merchant and war vessels; that is to say, with forces superior to ours, in number as well as caliber of armament, and also from the fact that they were better protected than ours, as may be seen from the report of the United States Navy, and as unfortunately we found out ourselves later. From that time on the hostile ships, which were afterwards increased in number, established day and night a constant watch, without withdrawing at nightfall, as they used to do. Probably they suspected—for they never lacked advices and secret information—that our fleet, for want of provisions, would before very long be compelled to go out, and that is what they were waiting for.

On the 2d, nineteen ships were present.

At daybreak of the 3d, the *Merrimac* forced the entrance of the harbor, at 3.30, with the result above set forth.

In spite of the time that has elapsed, we, at Santiago, have not succeeded in ascertaining definitely—though it is probably known in Spain from American newspapers that are in the habit of publishing everything—what was the real object that the *Merrimac* had in view.

She had guns and did not fire; she had torpedoes, though imperfect and primitive, if I may be permitted the expression, or rudimental, which she did not use; if she was trying to explode our mines, she did not accomplish her design; and, finally, she had 2,000 tons of coal on board. The lieutenant who commanded her refused to state the object of his maneuver, saying only that it was made by order of Admiral Sampson; later, he said to Mr. Ramsden, British consul, that if the vessel were examined, it would be found that she carried torpedoes, as indeed was the case. Therefore, it may be reasonably supposed that the object was to sink the vessel across the channel, so as to obstruct it and prevent our ships from going out; and having made sure of that, to use part of their ships in other operations; and if the vessel did not come to lie across the channel and did not obstruct it, it was because she lost control of her movements, her rudder having been disabled by some projectile, so that she went down where it suited her least.

There is another fact in this connection which may and should arrest the attention of experts in that subject: The *Plutón* launched two torpedoes, the *Mercedes* two more, all of them Whitehead; two mines were discharged from the first line and one from the second; and yet the vessel was not blown up and passed both lines in safety, which shows that the effect of torpedoes is moral rather than material, and that it is not easy to discharge them at the right moment. To do so requires a degree of experience, a range of sight, and a presence of mind not easily found united in a single man. The occurrence to which I have reference demonstrates this very clearly.

During the day the officer and seven men of the *Merrimac*, who had first been taken on board the *Mercedes*, were temporarily transferred to the Morro.

From 11 to 12.30 in the night, the hostile ships were firing, though slowly, outside of the harbor and towards the southeast. The object of this has never been ascertained.

I have several times spoken with General Ros, governor of the Morro, and he has always repeated these and similar words: "From the beginning of the hostilities to the end I have remained in the castle, from where, as you know, everything can be seen and observed. Sooner or later I have always learned the object of everything the enemy has done and the reason for it; but the firing of that night, though I saw and heard it myself, I have never understood. I believe they were firing on some ship they saw, or thought they saw; but it may be that they were firing on the land; but I believe in that case the object and result of the firing would have become known sooner or later."

That same day Captain (General) Parades, second in command of the fleet, disembarked from the *Cristóbal Colón* and embarked temporarily on the *Mercedes*, where he remained until the 21st, taking command of all the defenses at the mouth of the harbor.

XVII.

THE BLOCKADE CONTINUES.

June 4th.—There were to be seen at the mouth of the harbor seventeen ships: Six battle ships, five war ships, and six merchant vessels.

At 11.30 a. m., the second commander of the local naval forces (being the writer of this book), as judge, accompanied by the aid of the captaincy of the port, Mr. Leguina, as secretary, and the Government interpreter, Mr. Isidoro Agostini, went to the Morro in the steam launch of the captaincy of the port, for the purpose of taking the depositions of the lieutenant and seven men who had been taken prisoners.

The former, Mr. Hobson, 27 years old, born in the State of Alabama, is a lieutenant in the corps of naval constructors, who, in the United States, study in the naval college, and those first promoted are assigned to that corps; I state this so that it may not seem strange that he commanded the *Merrimac*, for, as they are officers of the Navy, they can build and command ships.

Upon learning the object of the visit, the prisoner, from whose room a great extent of the sea and part of the blockading fleet could be seen, asked why the British Consul, who was in charge of the United States Consulate, was not present when his deposition was to be taken, and he wanted to know whether I belonged to the army or the navy; what might be the consequences of his statements; by whose authority he was being examined; and he stated that, since he had been taken prisoner by Admiral Cervera himself in his own boat (as was true), it was his understanding that he could and should answer only Admiral Cervera, or some one delegated by him. And although all this was said in the very best form and with a thousand protestations of his respect and deference for me, it did not prevent our positions from being reversed, and far from my asking the prisoner questions, it was he, on the contrary, who asked them of me. I told him so, asking him through the interpreter to state categorically whether he was disposed to answer. He replied he was ready to answer the questions which he thought he ought to answer, but not those which

he deemed untimely. Therefore, and in order not to lose time, I at once asked him one question which I knew beforehand he would refuse to answer, namely, by whose order and for what purpose he entered the harbor; he replied: "By order of Admiral Sampson; the second part I can not answer." I then deemed my mission at an end and had the fact set down.

A few days later, this officer was transferred to quarters on the *Reina Mercedes* that had been prepared for him, and the seven men to others on the vessel, where they remained until they were released.

As I left the Morro and stood on the esplanade in front of it, I had an opportunity for the first time to admire the spectacle that presented itself to my eyes; I say "admire," for the picture was truly worthy of admiration.

The evening was most beautiful; the sea was as smooth as a lake, there was hardly any wind and the sky was perfectly clear.

At a distance of about five miles, seventeen ships could be seen: eleven war ships, among them seven battle ships and one torpedo boat, and the other six merchant vessels, the nearest one about six miles from the harbor, formed a large arc, one extremity of which was at Aguadores and the other at Punta Cabrera. The largest and most powerful ships were in the center. Among them were the *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Brooklyn*, and *New York;* the latter two may be easily recognized by their three smokestacks. The fifth was presumably the *Massachusetts;* and finally the *Texas* and *Amazonas.* The *New York* and *Brooklyn* taking advantage of the state of the sea, had a merchant steamer alongside and were coaling. All of them had their engines stopped and their bows in different directions according to the current. From time to time, one of them would move a short distance forward and then return again to her place. Among the merchant vessels were specially noticeable the *Saint Louis* (the first vessel that had been seen at Santiago), a huge transatlantic steamer of over 10,000 tons, which looked larger than any of the other ships, including the armorclads, and a steam yacht of great speed, very small, on the contrary, and which looked like a ship's boat. This is the yacht that was in constant communication with Punta Cabrera. There also was a torpedo boat or destroyer. A few days later, I saw the same spectacle from the high battery of the Socapa, and I shall never forget it.

Before I continue, I will state that on May 26, the cable had been cut at Cape Cruz, so that communication with Manzanillo was interrupted until June 17, when the connection was reestablished.

5th.—The American fleet could be seen at the mouth of the harbor, being the same ships we had seen the night before.

General Linares returned from the Morro at 8 o'clock p. m. and ordered the launches and a tug to be gotten ready to take 150 men to the mouth of the harbor.

At 10.30, a chief, two officers, and 120 soldiers embarked and went out in a launch towed by the *Colón*, assisted by the *Alcyon;* the tugs returned at 1 o'clock at night.

At 2 o'clock in the morning, through the fault of a collier coaling near the hut of the English cable at Las Cruces, said hut was burned; it was an accident, but none the less deplorable.

XVIII.

THE BOMBARDMENT INCREASES.

June 6th.—Eighteen ships were visible at the mouth of the harbor. At 7.30 the lookout reported that the ships were starting up and approaching.

At 8.30 ten ships—the *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Massachusetts*, *Brooklyn*, *New York*, *Texas*, *Amazonas*, *Minneapolis*, and two other warships—forming two divisions, opened fire, the first division, on the Morro and Aguadores, the second on the Socapa; one ship was detached from the latter division to bombard Mazamorra and adjoining points on the coast, where the column of Colonel Aldea (Asiatic battalion) had detachments and was operating.

When the American fleet opened fire, it was so intense and the shots followed each other in such quick succession that it might have seemed like a fusillade if the mighty thunder of guns can be compared with the crackling of small arms.

By 9 o'clock it became somewhat slower, shortly after reaching again the same intensity, then decreasing once more at 10.15, and again becoming terribly intense at 10.30.

At 11.2 it ceased.

Punta Gorda battery fired only 7 shots.

At 12.15 intense firing was heard again in the distance to the east; it ceased at 1.45.

At 2 p. m. there arrived at the royal pier a boat from the *Reina Mercedes*, towed by her steam launch, with Lieutenant Ozamiz, bringing three seriously wounded sailors, who were taken to the military hospital. This officer reported the death of Commander Emilio de Acosta y Eyermann, second in command of the cruiser, and of five sailors; also, that Ensign Molins, one boatswain, and several other sailors had been wounded; their names could not be ascertained owing to the condition of the ship, nor could even the exact number of wounded be stated, as it had been necessary to extinguish two fires on board.

At 2.45 a private boat arrived at the pier, carrying a sergeant and a wounded soldier from the Mazamorra detachment. They were also taken to the military hospital.

There were no more remarkable events during the night.

Ten warships, eight of them battle ships, divided into two divisions, opened fire shortly after 8 a. m., on the batteries at the mouth, and by elevation on the bay. During the first moments, the firing was so intense that it resembled one prolonged thunder. In fact, I had no idea that any firing could be as terrific as that of those ten ships. Much has been said of the bombardments of Sebastopol and Alexandria, but I do not believe that they could have been as terrible as the bombardment we suffered that 6th day of June—a day which the inhabitants of Santiago will never forget. I might write pages about it, and even then would probably not give the faintest idea of what it really was.

The hostile ships (see list of ships and armaments) had at least 120 large guns, that is to say, of 14, 20 and 32-cm. calibers, and about 80 small-caliber guns, that is to say, of 57 and 42-mm., or a total of 192 guns, for they fired with guns of all sizes; and as I am far from wanting to exaggerate and since the guns of the two sides of a ship can not be fired at the same time (those mounted in turrets forward and aft can), I will say that 91 guns were firing upon four 16-cm. *muzzle-loading* guns at the Morro and two 16-cm. breech-loading Hontoria guns of the Socapa battery.

I do not count the guns of Punta Gorda battery, which fired only seven shots; for the Americans, in spite of their enormous superiority, still had the —— prudence of avoiding it and not engaging it because it was not in line. Before the eloquence of numbers, anything else that I might say becomes unnecessary.

How did it happen that the Morro was not razed to the ground and that its guns and those of the Socapa were not dismounted? How did it happen that those who served these guns were not buried under the ruins? I do not know; that is all I can say; and those who were in those forts may be sure that, since they were not killed that day, they will die of old age.

Captain Concas, who is very clever at computations of a certain nature, counted at different times the number of shots fired in a minute, and his deduction is that about 8,000 projectiles were fired; though this figure may appear exaggerated at first sight, it is not so in reality; the firing lasted 175 minutes, which would give an average of 45 shots per minute. I believe, if anything, the computation falls below the truth.

I have always believed that the hostile fleet, which, by means of the yacht referred to, communicated with the insurgents on the coast by way of Punta Cabrera, knew everything that was going on in Santiago as well as in the harbor and the position of our ships. But if I had had any doubts on that subject, they would have been dispelled that 6th day of June when I saw the aim of

their projectiles. Most of them dropped in the bay in the direction of the *Maria Teresa* and *Vizcaya*, which were covering the first line, and it was a miracle that both of them were not seriously damaged; for the large-caliber shells fell all around them; there were moments when it seemed as though some had hit them, especially the *Vizcaya*.

They were also perfectly acquainted with the position of the *Mercedes*, which is proved by the fact that the ships to the east, being the division which bombarded the Morro, were firing their projectiles right at the cruiser, and though protected by the hill of the Socapa, she received in her hull and rigging 35 shells, causing two fires, one of them quite extensive, being in the paint locker forward.

Commander Emilio Acosta y Eyerman was directing the extinguishing of the fire in the forecastle, when a large shell cut off his right leg at the hip and also his right hand, mutilating him horribly. But he lived for half an hour after that and kept on looking after the fire, as I was told by Mr. Ozamiz, who was close to him in those critical moments. I do not like to think of it; he had been a fellow-student of mine at college and our old friendship had always remained the same. As there was no safe place in the ship, his body was placed on a cot and taken to the Socapa coast; five soldiers who had been killed the same day were also carried there, and all of them were covered with the flag which they had been defending and for which they had died. May he rest in peace, this first chief of the navy killed in this war.

The large projectiles shot through the space across the bay, causing a tremendous noise which only those who heard it can understand; some fell on the opposite coast (to the westward), raising, as they exploded, clouds of dust and smoke; others could not be seen falling, which proves that they must have dropped in the hills at a great distance. This explains that they did not only reach the city, but went thousands of meters beyond.

Toward evening, the ships also fired twice on Daiquiri, probably at the forts and the detachments in the mineral region and at Firmeza, but without any effect worth mentioning. The high battery of the Socapa (two 16-cm. Hontoria guns) fired 47 shots; that was all they could fire, because during the bombardment the ships were hidden most of the time through the smoke.

The inhabitants of Cay Smith had to take refuge in the northern part, which is very abrupt, and many were in the water up to the waist; if they had not gone there, most of them would have been killed, for nearly all the dwellings which were located in the southern part suffered from the effects of the shells. The following day the Cay was abandoned and the inhabitants transferred to the city.

Lieutenant Julián Garcia Durán was appointed second in command of the cruiser *Reina Mercedes;* he had arrived a short time before in command of the merchant steamer *Méjico*, with torpedo supplies, which he landed at the port of Guantanamo.

Later, after the *Mercedes* sank, this same officer was placed in command of the naval forces that occupied the Socapa; and later, of the whole navy encampment, until they were embarked and taken back to Spain.

XIX.

THE FIRING CONTINUES.

June 7th.—At daybreak nineteen ships in front of the mouth.

At 9.15 the body of Commander Emilio Acosta was brought on shore.

At 9.30 the funeral procession started, headed by Admiral Cervera and Generals Toral and Rubin, and including, in spite of the rain, the civil and military authorities of the city, delegations from all the different divisions, and a great many private citizens. On both sides of the body walked the battalion of volunteers and the company of guides, the only forces that were in the city, with the music of the Santiago regiment.

At 6.30 p. m. the ships increased the distance that separated them from the coast.

The French cable had been cut, and we were not in communication with Guantanamo.

8th.—Nineteen ships were in sight at daybreak, about 6 miles from the mouth.

During the night the fleet had constantly thrown its searchlights on the coast.

9th.—At daybreak eighteen ships, at a distance of about 7 miles.

The steamer *Tomas Brooks* delivered 25 planks at the mouth of the harbor, which were attached to a steel cable stretched from Cay Smith to Punta Soldado, the object of the planks being to keep it at the surface of the water; the cable was laid to prevent the passage of any torpedoes which the enemy might attempt to send into the harbor with the entering tide.

10th.—At daybreak the eighteen ships of the preceding day were to be seen about 10 miles distant. At 7 o'clock another one, a merchant vessel, arrived from the south.

The *Pluton* and *Furor* went alongside the steamer *Méjico*, one at each side, to rest from the service of the night.

At 11 the lookout made a signal, taking it down shortly after, that fire was being opened. Nothing was heard in the city.

The Morro said that the enemy had fired upon Punta Berracos, but had stopped very soon.

During the night the American fleet continued to examine the coast by means of the searchlights.

11th.—Seventeen ships, some 6 miles distant, others 10.

12th.—The same seventeen ships, from 5 to 6 miles distant from the Morro.

13th.—Fifteen ships, 6 miles from the harbor.

14th.—At 5.15 the enemy opened fire on the mouth of the harbor; it ceased at 6.50.

The projectiles fell toward Cajuma Bay, close to the *Vizcaya.*

Only one ship kept up the fire on the Morro and Socapa, both batteries answering it.

At the latter battery Ensign Bruquetas and two sailors were slightly wounded.

At 10 General Linares went to the Socapa and the Morro, returning at 12.30.

The enemy continued the fire during the night, aiming his projectiles upon the coast, especially above the mouth of the harbor.

15th.—At daybreak seventeen hostile ships in sight, among them the *Vesuvius*, this being her first appearance before the harbor.

The *Vesuvius* is a vessel of 900 tons displacement and of peculiar construction, being very long, narrow, and low. She is the only one of her class in the world, and throws, by means of guns or pneumatic tubes, dynamite bombs or projectiles a distance of about 2 miles; they are probably provided with a screw; nobody knows them exactly. I do not believe this vessel, though it may cause serious destruction, would be able to sustain a fight with another, even though smaller, for the reason that the range of her projectiles is very short and she has no protection.

From the 7th to the 15th the hostile fleet hardly threatened the batteries which defended the harbor, nor the coast either, contenting themselves with watching it incessantly day and night.

In the city nothing appeared to have changed, and yet the situation was very far from being what it was a month ago.

In the stores many articles were wanting, and those that could be had brought fabulous prices. Unfortunately, one of the first articles that gave out was flour, and no bread could be baked. Hardtack (galleta) was used instead, but only a few people could pay for it; there was no milk to be had, indispensable for the sick and for babies. The soldiers commenced to eat bread made of rice and rice boiled in water, which weakened them very much; and though they were not suffering actual hunger, everybody knew that calamity was not far off and was inevitable, for no provisions could be expected, either by land or sea.

Fortunately, the sailors of the ships and defenses, thanks to the foresight of the general commandant of the naval station, were

still receiving full rations and had them for some time to come, thanks also to the interest taken in this matter by the Commandant of Marine.

The music continued to play at the Alameda and in the market place, but the people, who had nothing to eat, had no desire to go walking, and the market place and Alameda were deserted.

Horses and dogs were dying before our eyes. Carriages stopped going about for want of horses, which the scavenger carried off at night, and gradually the city acquired that stamp of sadness and absence of life which is seen in places into which cholera and plagues carry sorrow and death. The situation became more serious every day, and the discouragement was general, for everyone knew that if the blockade should continue, the ruin of the city was imminent.

I must state that while the ships of the hostile fleet were firing on Punta Cabrera and Mazamorra on the 7th, 9th, and days following, insurgent bands, commanded by their principal chiefs, sustained a continued musket fire on land. In these attacks they were repulsed with great losses.

XX.

THE LANDING EXPEDITION APPEARS.

June 16th.—Eighteen ships in sight.

At 5.45 the hostile fleet opened fire.

At 6.15 Punta Gorda commenced firing, but stopped shortly after.

The greater part of the projectiles dropped close to the Spanish fleet.

At 6.30 the fire became more intense.

At 6.35 smoke was seen for a few minutes issuing from the *Infanta Maria Teresa.* It was learned afterwards that a fragment of shell had caused a slight injury in the starboard gallery.

At 6.40 Punta Gorda again opened fire; ten shots.

At 7 the firing ceased.

At 7.15 the *Furor* and *Plutón*, which had their steam up during the firing, went alongside the steamer *Méjico.*

It was reported from the Morro that the ships which had been firing were eight in number; that the fire had been directed against the castle and the Socapa, both of them answering; that at the Morro battery a gunner had been killed and an officer and five soldiers (all belonging to the artillery) wounded; that at the Socapa two sailors had been killed and four sailors and Ensign Bruquetas wounded, the latter for the second time; and that one of the Hontoria guns had been put out of action by débris obstructing it, but that the enemy had not succeeded in dismounting a single gun.

At 11.45 the four sailors who had been wounded at the Socapa arrived in a boat at the royal pier and were taken to the military hospital, one of them, who was seriously wounded, on a stretcher from the firemen's headquarters, the other three in carriages.

At 12 a second lieutenant and a gunner arrived from the Morro and were also taken to the hospital.

During the night the ships continued to illuminate the coast with their search lights.

The débris was removed from the Hontoria gun, which was again made ready for firing.

17th.—At 5.30 steady gun fire commenced in the distance to the west. It was learned that one ship was firing on Punta Cabrera. A few minutes later another opened fire on the Socapa.

Thirteen ships in sight.

The ship firing on Punta Cabrera was also firing on Mazamorra.

At 7.30 the firing ceased.

There was nothing further of importance during the day and the following night.

18th.—Fourteen ships in sight at daybreak. The *Iowa* left and the *Massachusetts*, which had been absent for several days, took her place.

At 7.45 p. m. gun fire was heard.

It was learned that it was from the Socapa firing at a ship which had passed within a short distance and had answered. About 20 shots were exchanged.

19th.—Fifteen vessels in sight.

At 7 two battle ships arrived from the south; total, 17.

At 2.30 p. m. General Linares went to the mouth of the harbor, returning at 7 p.m.

During the night the ships were again running their search lights along the coast and the entrance of the harbor.

20th.—At daybreak there were 21 vessels in sight, 7 of them battle ships.

The *Oquendo* changed her anchoring place and went farther to the north.

At 12 the Morro reported that 39 hostile vessels had arrived; shortly after 3 more came, so that, with the 21 that were already opposite the Morro, there was a total of 63.

At 12.05 a loud detonation was heard and a great deal of smoke was seen at the piers of Luz and San José; it came from the schooner *Trafalgar*, where a shell had exploded while being fired, killing a sailor of the steamer *San Juan* and wounding three of the *Mortera*, one of whom died a few minutes later. The schooner had to be run ashore to prevent her going down.

Orders were received for the formation of the fourth army corps, in command of General Linares, composed of the division of Santiago, which was already under his command, and the division of Manzanillo.

Another cable was stretched between the Socapa and Cay Smith, like the one stretched between Cay Smith and Punta Soldado, and twelve Bustamente torpedoes were planted, half of them between Cay Smith and the *Merrimac*, and the other six between the latter and Punta Soldado.

21st.—It was learned that the 42 vessels that had arrived the previous day had proceeded in an easterly direction during the night, leaving only the former 21, most of them war ships.

At 2.30 p. m. the Morro stated that the 42 vessels were again returning from the south.

The cruiser *Reina Mercedes* left her anchoring place at the Socapa and cast anchor in the bay, west of the captaincy of the port.

On the 16th the American fleet had again opened fire on the batteries at the mouth of the harbor, and although it could not be compared with that of the 6th, either in intensity or duration, yet it had caused us two deaths at the Socapa, and two officers and several sailors and soldiers had been wounded there and at the Morro. A 32-cm. shell, which exploded at the former of said batteries, raised such a quantity of earth that it partly buried one of the Hontoria guns, making it useless for the time being, and came near burying also the men serving it. During the night the earth covering the gun was removed, so that it was again ready for service.

The names of the Morro and Socapa have been repeated many times, and it has been shown that these two poor batteries were the main objective of the hostile fleet and had to withstand the fire of over 90 guns, most of them of large caliber, which they always answered; yet, I can not help but speak once more of the heroism, truly worthy of admiration, displayed by those who served them, constantly exposing their lives and having to watch after fighting, without a moment's rest or sleep; for the enemy was always on the lookout for the least remission in watchfulness in order to surprise them and attempt a coup de main on the harbor.

Each one of them, and the governor of the castle first of all, earned the gratitude of the country every day for two months. Their self-denial and valor kept a powerful fleet in check for seventy days. The resistance which the Morro and the Socapa offered under the prevailing circumstances is a true feat of heroism.

On the 17th the ships reconnoitered along Punta Cabrera and Mazamorra, firing on the detachments of the Asiatic column.

On the 20th, the day when the 42 vessels of the convoy appeared with the landing expedition, a shell exploded in the hold of the schooner *Trafalgar*, causing several deaths and injuring the hull of the schooner, which had to be run ashore in order to prevent her from sinking.

I shall not speak at length of a matter which is of no importance, but will mention it briefly, because it gives an idea of the craze reigning at Santiago, to which the frequent bombardments, which must have cost at least a million dollars, gave rise.

Whether by reason of the type of their fuzes, or because many of the shells did not have the requisite powder charge (I have discharged a 57-mm. shell myself, which had only one-eighth of it), certain it is that many did not explode and remained intact as though they had not been discharged; as they were being thrown

in such large numbers, many people wanted to keep one as a curiosity or as a souvenir of an event which does not happen often in a lifetime. Some wanted them of small, others of large caliber; others wanted to make a collection of all sizes. I have a friend who called on me one evening to show me a 20-cm. shell which had been discharged and had not suffered the least deformation. The fad had cost him 20 pesos, and he was as happy over it as a child over a new toy. But I was thoughtless enough to tell him that there were 32-cm. ones, and he was inconsolable. It will be understood from the above that the fad was being paid for dearly; and as capital is always made out of everything, many people made a business of gathering up and discharging projectiles and selling them. That was the cause of the unfortunate occurrence on board the *Trafalgar*; a shell had been discharged without the necessary care, and what happened was but the natural consequence.

Another monomania of this period: As the Americans kept up the bombardments all through the month of June, so that there hardly was a day when gunshots were not heard at a greater or less distance, people were hearing them all the time; the falling of a chair, the closing of a door or window, the noise of carriage wheels in the distance, the crying of a child—everything was taken for gunshots, and gunshots was all that was being talked about. When they finally ceased, Santiago had become so identified with them that people almost missed them and were surprised to hear them no longer.

XXI.

LINE OF OBSERVATIONS.

We have now reached a period when the events acquire the greatest interest and assume exceptional importance. So far it was only the fleet that had been antagonizing us; and numerous and powerful though it was, it had threatened only one point, which experience showed us it did not dare attack or force. Henceforth we shall find ourselves menaced also on land by an army equipped with numerous modern artillery, which, supported by the ships that had control of the sea and could therefore, without trouble, communicate with their dépots and base of operations, and further supported by the insurgents who had control of the field, was constantly receiving reenforcements of men and material and had at its disposal everything which we, unfortunately, were lacking.

From this time on the events are precipitated, so to speak, and lead with dizzy rapidity to a dénouement which it is not difficult to foresee. In view of the exceptional location of the island of Cuba, we can not hope for help either from within or without; we can not hope for provisions nor ammunition, and without these the soldier can not be fed and can not fight—a sad and desperate situation for men who ask for nothing else and whom fate seems to pursue.

When speaking of military operations and movements of troops, it is not always possible to give a full account of them as they happen; there is danger that some of the occurrences, the situation of the forces, and the points they defend or attack, may not be known. In order to obviate this, and to give the reader a better understanding of the events that took place later, I will give an outline, though perhaps incomplete, of the distribution which General Linares made of the forces he had at his disposal.

It has already been stated that on the 20th the Fourth Army Corps was organized, consisting of the Santiago division and the Manzanillo division. General Linares was made commander in chief, and Lieutenant Colonel Ventura Fontán, who had been chief of staff of the latter division, retained the same position relative to the corps.

General Toral, though in command of the division of Santiago, remained at the head of the military government of the city, with the same general staff. It may, therefore, be said that nothing was changed.

From telegrams received, the enemy's plans could be, if not accurately known, at least surmised, and as it was supposed that they might effect a landing at a point on the coast more or less close to the city, General Linares ordered the concentration of his forces so that they might be assigned to convenient positions. First of all, orders were sent from Havana to Manzanillo, by telegraph, for General Escario to proceed with all the forces available, and with the least possible delay, to Santiago de Cuba. Said general left Manzanillo on the 22d with 3,300 infantry, 250 cavalry, two Plasencia guns and 60 transport mules. The infantry was composed of the battalions of Alcántara, Andalusia, Puerto Rico chasseurs and two battalions of the Isabel la Católica regiment. These 3,300 men who, from the time they left Manzanillo, had encounters every day with the insurgents, who killed and wounded 97 of them, could not arrive here, in spite of forced marches, until the evening of July 3; this should not be lost sight of.

At another place I have spoken of the scarcity of provisions in the city. The authorities, in order not to diminish the chances of assistance which they might obtain from the region under cultivation, for the men as well as the horses and mules, combined the operations and position of the troops with the object of attempting to preserve that region and looking out for the enemy in all directions.

With this object in view, a line of observation was established, as follows: To the north, from Palma Soriano through San Luis, El Cristo, and Socorro; to the west, from Punta Cabrera through Monta Real and El Cobre, on the roads which lead to the city on that side, and to the east, from Daiquiri through Vinent and Firmeza to the harbor of Escandell.

On the 22d the first companies of the Spanish fleet disembarked, with a force of about 130 men each, under orders of the third commanders of the ships respectively; two companies were stationed at San Miguel de Paradas, to guard the coast west of the bay and assist the Socapa or the city; the third company at the Socapa, to reenforce that point, and the fourth and last company at Las Cruces, to assist the Morro, Aguadores, or the city.

At night of the same day, the second companies disembarked, including men from the *Mercedes* and the destroyers, a total of 450, who, under command of Capt. Joaquin Bustamente, went the following day to occupy the line from Dos Caminos del Cobre to the Plaza de Toros; that is, south and southwest of the precinct.

The only forces in the Santiago district prior to the declaration of the present war were nine companies of mobilized troops and two of the Santiago Regiment, to garrison the city and the forts of the precinct, besides a small number of the Civil Guard and a few artillerymen, and as much cavalry as was indispensable for convoy and other services properly belonging to the cavalry.

When war was declared, six more companies of the Santiago regiment came for the purpose of commencing the fortification works of the precinct of the city, under the directions of the chiefs and officers of the corps of engineers; another company was occupying the position of Ermitaño (east of the city) and another was at Socorro.

I believe I have already stated that by orders of General Linares the Talavera battalion had come from Baracoa and was stationed, with three companies of mobilized troops, along the coast to watch the same, occupying Daiquiri, Siboney, the railroads, and the forts.

The Asiatic battalion, in command of Colonel Aldea, took up its position of observation west of Santiago: Four companies, with the colonel at Punta Cabrera, covering the coast road; another, with one mobilized company, occupying Mazamorra, both to be ready to reenforce the former four or the forces at the Socapa, if necessary, and to prevent in due time a landing at Cabañas; another occupied the camp at Monte Real, and finally another, with one mobilized company, garrisoned El Cobre. With these forces all the roads leading to Santiago from the west had to be covered.

Gradually, as information was being received concerning the enemy's plans, the available forces of the San Luis brigade, in command of General Vara de Rey, were concentrated in the district.

First, four companies of the Provincial Battalion of Puerto Rico (No. 1) arrived, one company remaining at El Cristo and one at Songo, both of them occupying also the forts on the railroad of both towns. Later came three companies of the San Fernando battalion, one remaining at El Cristo and two at Palma Soriano. Finally, General Vara de Ray, with three companies of the twenty-ninth regiment (Constitucion), one company of guerrillas on foot, and two Plasencia guns, occupied El Caney, where there were only 40 men of the Santiago regiment and 50 of the mobilized troops, leaving three companies of the twenty-ninth regiment at the towns of San Luis, Dos Caminos, and Morón. Two squads of cavalry were distributed in said three towns.

It is only necessary to cast a glance at the chart, without much study, to understand that the line which our troops occupied was too extensive to be solidly covered and effectively defended by such small forces.

Why did General Linares not limit it and occupy positions closer to the precinct and more susceptible of effective defense? For a reason which outweighs all others. He could not do so without condemning its defenders from the outset to an inevitable disaster.

I will repeat once more—for to this must be attributed the reverses we suffered—that there was nothing left in Santiago except rice, and only 500,000 extra cartridges outside of the regular supply of the soldiers, namely, 150 each; for although there were many more included in the surrender of the Park, they are of the Remington, Argentine Mauser, and other types, and of calibers differing from those of the Spanish Mauser, which is the weapon carried by almost all of our forces. Of course, 150 cartridges are used up very rapidly. It was the scarcity of provisions, confined almost entirely to rice, which, more than anything else, compelled General Linares to defend the line which, beginning at Ermitaño and passing through El Caney, San Miguel de Lajas, Quintero Hill and the hills of La Caridad and Veguita, would protect the railway to Sabanilla and Morón and the aqueduct. If the troops could have maintained this line, they would not have suffered for lack of water, as they did in some positions, nor would the food, as long as we remained in possession of the cultivated region, have been reduced to rice bread and rice boiled in water, which the soldiers could not stand and which made them unfit for the active operations necessary in war.

The Morro and the Socapa had to be not only occupied, but well protected; they were the key to the harbor. If the enemy had taken possession of them, it would have been easy to remove the torpedoes and force the bay, and then the city and its defenders would necessarily have had to surrender.

It was equally necessary to occupy Daiquiri, Siboney, and Aguadores, so as not to allow the enemy to make a landing at any of them with impunity (as they did after all, supported by the war ships, at the first-named place) and gain possession of the railroad. For the same reasons also, it was necessary to cover the landing places of Cabañas and Guaicabón (near Punta Cabrera), as also the west coast of the bay, and preserve the railroads leading to the city.

All this proves that it was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary to defend said line. To give it up would have meant to be resigned from the outset to perish from hunger, and perhaps from thirst, which is worse.

If El Caney and the San Juan position had not been taken we should not have lost our communications with the cultivated region, nor would the aqueduct have been cut, and it is easy enough to understand how much these two things had to do with

later events, and how different the situation would have been without them. Unfortunately the small number of our forces made it impossible to save these positions.

The ships would no doubt have reduced the city to ashes and ruin, but there would have been water and more provisions, and the army would have been able to maintain itself and fight, at least until the last cartridge was gone.

Unfortunately the insurgents, firing from ambush, as usual, on General (then Colonel) Escario's column, succeeded in delaying its march long enough so that it could not arrive before the 1st of July. Fate is not always just.

XXII.

EVENTS OF JUNE 22D TO 27TH.

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On the evening of the 21st it was learned, as has been stated, that the enemy was effecting a landing at Punta Berracos.

June 22d.—At 6.30, the usual ships were opposite the mouth of the harbor; in Aguadores Bay there were two yachts and one monitor; at Punta Berracos, the 42 vessels of the convoy, among them the *Saint Louis*, with the *Indiana*. A steamer, with tugs, could also be seen. We therefore knew that the landing was being effected. We also saw the house on fire that the English had on San Juan river.

At 8 the enemy opened fire and Punta Gorda answered.

At the same time, one ship fired upon Aguadores.

The *Brooklyn*, *Iowa*, and *Texas* were firing on the Morro and Socapa, and the batteries were answering.

At noon the firing ceased in the mouth of the harbor.

Punta Gorda only fired five shots.

The firing continued on the coast toward the east.

During the day the first companies of the Spanish fleet (4 companies, about 520 men) disembarked. At midnight the second companies (about 450 men) disembarked. It has already been stated what part of the ground they were to cover.

At 11 o'clock p. m. two shots were heard and a loud detonation, followed by a noise resembling that of a screw revolving in the air. Shortly after, another similar detonation was heard.

23d.—Opposite the Morro entrance, and at a distance of about 6 miles from it, 8 battle ships, 2 destroyers, the *Vesuvius*, and 8 merchant vessels. The rest, as many as 63, continued the landing on the coast, protected by some of the warships.

At 2.30 a yacht, with a white flag, left the fleet and approached the Morro. The tug *Colón* went out to speak with her. At this time there were 24 ships opposite the harbor.

During the night the enemy examined the coast again by means of search lights.

24th.—Eight battle ships, 2 destroyers, the *Vesuvius* (which, at 11 o'clock on the previous night, had thrown two dynamite bombs

on the port, fortunately without doing any harm) and 12 merchant vessels, are guarding the mouth of the harbor, stretched out from Aguadores to Punta Cabrera. The others, as many as 63, among them six war ships protecting them, continued the landing at Daiquiri.

The yacht that came up yesterday with a flag of truce was sent by Admiral Sampson, who inquired whether the lieutenant who had been made prisoner was being kept in the Morro. Mr. Concas, who was delegated to parley, answered evasively, as was natural, that the prisoner was in a safe place.

At 11.55 the *Brooklyn* opened a slow fire on Daiquiri and adjoining points on the coast.

At 1.30 the firing ceased.

At 1.55 it was again heard in the same direction, ceasing at 2.30.

At night the hostile fleet used the projectors again.

25th—At 4 a. m. 14 shots were heard in the direction of Daiquiri. It was presumed that they were firing on General Rubin's column.

At daybreak there were at the mouth of the harbor 8 battle ships and 12 merchant vessels.

From 12.30 to 2 o'clock the hostile fleet kept up a slow fire on the coast from Aguadores to Daiquiri.

It was noticed that the vessels landing troops or material were going back and forth, so we felt sure that new reenforcements were constantly arriving from the United States.

26th.—At daybreak the *New York*, *Brooklyn*, *Indiana*, *Oregon*, *Massachusetts*, *Texas*, *Vesuvius*, 1 monitor, and 6 merchant vessels were in front of the harbor. To the east, in the direction of Berracos, 11 steamers could be seen, and 8 at Daiquiri, inside of the roadstead.

The *Vesuvius* had discharged two bombs the preceding night, one completely destroying the house of the lighthouse keeper, the other seriously damaging the fortress, wounding three sailors of the *Mercedes* and a soldier of the garrison.

27th.—The same ships blockading the harbor as the preceding day.

During the night the *Vesuvius* threw 3 dynamite bombs, doing no damage, as they fell in the water, although inside of the harbor.

The search lights were going again during the night.

On the evening of the 21st the enemy had commenced to effect the disembarkation of the landing expedition (which according to New York newspapers consisted of 50,000 men), and, in order to do so in perfect security, even though they had in all 63 vessels, counting both merchant and war ships, they landed them at Punta Berracos, 20 miles from Santiago, in spite of there being no water and

no roads, because our troops, few in number, could not cover such an extensive region.

To assist the landing, the ships were firing on the whole coast from Berracos, east of Santiago, to Punta Cabrera, 27 miles west. How could we cover so many threatened points and occupy so extensive a territory? Impossible, even if we had had much superior forces than we did.

The battle ships, always in imposing numbers, remained in front of the harbor so as to keep our fleet in. The war ships were protecting the landing, and as they controlled the sea it was impossible for soldiers with small arms to prevent it.

How many men did the Americans disembark?

As Santiago was cut off from the rest of the world, or almost so, it was not easy to ascertain the exact number, nor was it necessary. The vessels of the convoy, as soon as they had landed men and material, returned to the United States and came back with fresh contingents. But it may be safely stated that the first expedition consisted of at least 15,000 men, with more or less war material.

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Every night, with great regularity (between 11 and 2), the *Vesuvius* threw her three dynamite bombs on the batteries at the mouth of the harbor, with the greatest humanity possible, for it will be remembered that such was the pretext of this war. For that purpose she would come close to the coast, accompanied by another ship, usually a battle ship—for the mission of the *Vesuvius* is only the offensive, she has no defensive qualities—and as soon as she was within convenient distance she would discharge three tubes at regular intervals. If the projectiles dropped close to a battery its ruin was certain, for one must see the effects of one of these projectiles to understand them. Fortunately, they do not appear to be very sure, either in range or in aim.

On the sea, matters continued in the same condition. Let us now see the operations carried out on land by the Army forces during this period, the latter events taking place at diametrically opposed points.

On the 22d Daiquiri and Siboney were bombarded by the ships. At the same time the enemy appeared at the former place. As the force guarding it could not cope with the ships, it retreated by way of Vinnent to Firmeza, gathering up all the detachments from the forts.

General Rubin, with three companies of the Provisional Battalion of Porto Rico, three of San Fernando, and two artillery guns (Plasencia), proceeded to Siboney. There he received orders to proceed with his column and with the whole force in the mineral

region to the heights of Sevilla before daybreak, where they were to take position in three echelons, the foremost one under Commander Alcañiz, formed of the three companies of Porto Rico and one mobilized company.

On the 23d this echelon alone checked the enemy's advance in the morning, and again in the evening, the echelon having been reenforced by one company from San Fernando, half engineers, and two guns. When the battle was over the forces withdrew to their former positions, the echelon remaining on the same site.

At daybreak on the 24th the echelon was reenforced by two companies from Talavero, and not only resisted a strong attack of the enemy, but also forced the latter to retreat.

In spite of this advantage they received orders to withdraw because the enemy was approaching the Morro by rail, and as there were not forces enough to oppose him, it would have been surrounded. In compliance with the order received the column withdrew to the city.

The official report of this battle is as follows:

"General Rubin's column under orders of the commander in chief of the Fourth Army Corps was attacked yesterday at noon and in the evening.

"This morning considerable forces with artillery guns made a resolute attack and were repulsed, losing many men.

"On our side we had in the two days seven dead; José Lancés, captain of the provisional battalion of Porto Rico, and Zenón Borregón, second lieutenant of the same battalion, seriously wounded; Francisco las Tortas, first lieutenant of the regiment of Royal Artillery, slightly wounded; two privates seriously wounded, two slightly wounded. Various contusions."

Later on it was learned that the forces which attacked General Rubin's column, or rather the echelon of the same, under Commander Alcañiz, were as follows:

The seventh, twelfth, and seventeenth regiments of United States infantry, the second Massachusetts, the seventy-first New York, and 16 dismounted squadrons.

On the 26th the following was published:

"General order of the Fourth Army Corps, dated June 26, at Santiago de Cuba:

"Soldiers: We left the mineral region because I did not wish to sacrifice your lives in vain in unequal battle, with musket fire, against the pompous superiority of the enemy, who was fighting us under cover of his armored ships, armed with the most modern and powerful guns.

"The enemy, rid of our presence at the points referred to, has already landed his troops and proposes to take the city of Santiago.

"The encounter is at hand and it will take place under equal conditions.

"Your military virtues and your valor are the best guarantee of success.

"Let us defend the right, ignored and trampled upon by the Americans, who have united themselves with the Cuban rebels.

"The nation and the army look to us.

"More than a thousand sailors, disembarked from the fleet, will assist us. Volunteers and firemen will take part in the task of repulsing and defeating the enemies of Spain.

"The other division of this army corps is hastening toward us to reenforce us.

"I make no recommendations, because I feel sure that all will vie in the defense of their coast with firmness and resolve; but I will say that those assigned to any position, be it in the precincts of the city or at the foremost points, must stand firm at any cost, without vacillating, without thinking of retreating, but only of saving the honor of our arms.

"I shall comply with my duties, and, in conclusion, I say with all, Long live Spain!

"LINARES.

"The foregoing was published to-day, by order of His Excellency, for the information of all.

"VENTURA FONTÁN,
"*Lieutenant Colonel, chief of staff.*"

In order to convey a better understanding of the foregoing operations of General Rubin's column, I will give below a copy of the instructions and orders which said general received from General Linares, all of which were drawn up in camp and written with lead pencil.

They are as follows:

"POSO, *June 23, 1898.*

"Peasants have handed to me the paper which you wrote to me, and we have heard firing since a quarter to five, and afterwards gun fire.

"I have impressed upon Colonel Borry to guard well the path or road to the Redonda, where he is encamped, so that the troops of the line, if they should find Sardinero occupied, can take that road to the Redonda.

"I have sent to Santiago for all the transport mules and 10 carts, which will be at your camp by 7.30 or 8 o'clock. You will have the sick ready, and also the ammunition, so that they may at once be taken to Santiago, with the same convoy that will go with the mules.

"Make arrangements to have the first mess of the morning taken there and then you will receive further orders.

"LINARES.

"To GENERAL ANTERO RUBIN."

(A seal. "Army of Operations of Santiago—4th Army Corps—General Staff.")

"After eating the first mess you will march with the whole column to Santiago, effecting a retreat from that point by echelons as carefully and slowly as may be necessary, so as to be in good condition to repulse any attack of the enemy.

"The Talavero Battalion will go to Sueño and will there meet the chief of the town, who will indicate to it the points to be occupied.

"The Porto Rico Battalion, with the two mobilized companies from the mineral region, will proceed to Cañadas and will there receive orders concerning the points it is to occupy, and the San Fernando Battalion is to proceed to Central Benéfico, and will also receive instructions. The section of artillery will go the quarters at Dolores. The section of engineers will proceed to Cruces, taking quarters in the offices of the mineral company.

"LINARES.

"POSO, *June 24, 1898.*

"NOTE: The captain of engineers is to return to Santiago with the convoy of sick and to report to Colonel Caula.

"To GENERAL ANTERO DEL RUBIN."

(Seal. "Army of Operations of Santiago—4th Army Corps—General Staff."

"You have already received orders to retreat, which is to be done when the convoy of sick has started under the protection of two mobilized companies and one Talavero company.

"The whole impedimenta will retreat first, and upon arriving at Santiago, they will go to the points designated, and with the three echelons of Porto Rico, San Fernando, and Talavero, you will make the retreat, alternating by echelons in such manner that when the forward echelon leaves a position the other two will be in position, until arriving at Santiago. There I shall await you.

"LINARES.

"To GENERAL RUBIN."

XXIII.

END OF THE MONTH OF JUNE.

June 28th.—The Morro said that the *Massachusetts*, which had been gone, had returned; that the *Iowa* had left instead, and that at 7 a. m. a merchant vessel was embarking the sick of the fleet, estimated at about 50, judging from what could be made out with the help of glasses; that to the east, at a distance, the ships were firing slowly.

During the night they continued to watch with search lights.

29th.—The *Iowa* returned.

In the evening, firing on Daiquiri was heard.

30th.—The same ships are blockading the harbor.

The Morro said that at 3 p. m. a steamer was sighted to the south; that, when she saw the American fleet, she shaped her course eastward at full speed; that a yacht and a battleship went out to chase her; that the latter returned with the steamer which, with the American flag hoisted, joined the convoy at Daiquiri.

At 8 p. m. a few musket shots were heard in the direction of Campo de Marte (east of the city).

Later the sound came from the Plaza de Toros (northeast).

At 9 firing was again heard at the cemetery (to the north).

Nothing further occurred.

The last three days of the month of June are devoid of interest and we enjoyed unusual quiet. So much had the people of Santiago become accustomed to the sound of gunshots that they almost missed them.

But how true it is that when a calm comes after a storm, it is often only the precursor of another storm. The enemy was preparing to begin the month of July in a manner that Santiago de Cuba will remember many a day.

The hostile fleet continued to antagonize the coast as usual. But without neglecting their main objective and their constant care, that of watching our fleet, which, being short of provisions, would sooner or later be compelled to take some decisive action, they were gathering at the entrance of the harbor a large number of their most powerful ships, and the army, no doubt intrenching itself at Daiquiri, so as to have another shelter besides that of the

ships, and a safe base of operations, was preparing to attack the city, supported by the insurgents who had joined them in large numbers under their leaders Calixto García, Demetrio Castillo, Cebrecos, and others less known.

This is proved by the musket fire which was heard a short distance from the city, to the northeast, on the night of the 30th.

From the news we had received from the Morro it might have been inferred that about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of that same day, the hostile fleet had captured a merchant vessel, which, after the American flag had been hoisted upon her, joined the convoy; but this is not probable. Aside from the fact that the flag of a ship is not changed as easily as that, the truth would have become known sooner or later. It is more probable that it was a vessel that was not expected and they went out to reconnoitre. That is my opinion about this incident, which, in reality, is not of much importance.

A few words more about the *Vesuvius* that gave us so much trouble for a few nights—that time, it seems, suiting her best to carry out her exploits. This ship is the only one of her class; her projectiles and the apparatus throwing them are not known, and she has made her début here. One of the projectiles which fell on the northern slope of the Socapa, tore up trees right and left for a distance of about 20 metres. From a certain distance, as I could see the day I went to the *Mercedes*, it looked as though a road had been opened across the mountain.

Another, which fell a short distance from the one just referred to, made an excavation, not very deep, but very wide; I was told that it would hold twenty horses. This would seem to indicate that the screw with which they are provided keeps on revolving even on solid ground.*

Still another dropped in the water, but close to one of the destroyers, which was violently shaken, as also the *Mercedes*, anchored at a short distance. I heard this from the commander of the former and the officers of the latter.

The forces of the army which, as has been stated, abandoned the mineral region, not being able to maintain it, concentrated in the city, preserving, as was indispensable, the line from Aguadores to Cruces, after destroying the bridge at the former point. The line (4 kilometers) was covered by six companies of the Santiago regiment and two of mobilized troops, a total contingent of about 800 men.

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* The reference to the "screw" in this paragraph probably refers to the vanes or feathers on the rear end of these shells. They are for the purpose of giving the shell rotation in its flight, and being fixed to the shell they have no independent motion.—O. N. I.

The advance post of Caney (a league and a half—about 6 miles—from the city), in command of General Vara de Rey, was defended by three companies of the battalion "Constitución" (the 29th), one company of guerrillas on foot, in all 430 men, 40 soldiers of the Santiago regiment and 50 of the mobilized troops, being a total of 520 men.

The line of the precinct (9 kilometers), extending from Dos Caminos del Cobre, west of the city, to the fort of Punta Blanca, to the east, on the seashore, was defended by the following forces:

Corps of sailors from the fleet (four second companies)	458
Four companies of the Provisional Battalion of Puerto Rico	450
Talavera Battalion, No. 4 (Peninsular)	850
Four companies of the San Fernando Battalion, No. 11	440
Total, army	2,198
Three companies of mobilized troops	330
Volunteers	440
Total	2,968

Also a small number of gunners, for there was not a sufficient number to serve the guns installed, the number and place of which has been mentioned. It may therefore be said that there were, in round numbers, 3,000 men.

This was the fighting force. Within the city was the cavalry force (for which the ground, being hilly and cut up by trenches, was not adapted), and a small force of the civil guard assigned to duty in the city, and the firemen with their engines in readiness.

This line is divided into sections in command of colonels.

Of the 3,000 men defending it, two companies, one of the Provisional Battalion of Puerto Rico and the other of the Talavera Battalion, defended the advance position at San Juan, one being assigned to the right, the other to the left side of the road.

Finally, at the Socapa, that is, at points in an opposite direction from that line, there were 400 men, 450 at the Morro, and 120 at Punta Gorda. It must be remembered that these three positions overlook the entrance of the harbor, and are its key, and must for that reason be maintained at any cost; and these forces were indispensable there, as the enemy might attack them, as indeed he did attack them the next day.

The same day, the 30th, the following telegram, addressed to the aid of marine (ayudante de marina) of that district, was received at the comandancia de marina from Manzanillo:

"COMMANDER MARINE, *Santiago:*

"Last evening, for about an hour, we sustained in the waters of this harbor a battle against three hostile vessels of medium tonnage, which passed, at a distance of about a mile from the head of the piers, in a northeasterly direction, under low steam.

"The following took part: Gunboats *Guantánamo*, *Estrella*, and *Delgado-Parejo*, under my command, and a group of vessels that were disabled, consisting of the pontoon *Maria* and gunboats *Cuba Española* and *Guardián*. With the former three we arrived in time at the other group, as the enemy passed by, who, finding himself attacked, stopped his progress only a short time on account of an injury which our vessels had inflicted on the second of theirs, which made it necessary for the third one to tow her to windward, and then, with slow speed, though keeping up a steady fire during the retreat, they doubled the headland northeast of the Manzanillo Cays, heading north, and soon disappeared from sight. The city cooperated efficiently with the few guns it has. We had two dead, two slightly wounded, and one bruised, on the *Delgado-Parejo;* two slightly wounded and two contusions on the other ships; in the city, a few wounded; injuries to all the ships, but not material.

"Barreda."

XXIV.

BATTLES OF EL CANEY AND SAN JUAN.

July 1st.—At 7 gun and musket fire were being heard in the direction of the Plaza de Marte (east of the city).

According to the Morro the *Minneapolis* arrived to reenforce the hostile fleet.

At the commandancia de marina we could hear a slow gun and steady musket fire in the direction of Campo de Marte.

The enemy had a captive balloon, from which he observed our positions; from the *Reina Mercedes* headquarters (converted into a hospital) it could be plainly seen. It was in the direction of Sevilla.

The American fleet is firing from Aguadores, the greater part of the projectiles passing over the city. Others fall inside, some exploding and some not. Many have already fallen in the houses, among others a 20-cm. shell, which fell in the house of the chief pilot of the port, but did not explode. The ships firing from Aguadores are the *New York* and the *Oregon*.

The streets of the city are almost deserted; only soldiers and volunteers are seen as they go to their posts. As usual, many projectiles are falling in the bay near our fleet.

The firing from the ships ceased at 11.

At 2 intense musket-fire was heard in the direction of El Caney; at 2:30 also gun-fire.

By 3 o'clock the musket-fire became steadier; constant volleys were being heard; at 4 it became less intense.

At 10 p. m. General Cervera left his ship, returning at 12.

On July 1st, at 6 a. m., the nucleus of the hostile army under command of General Shafter, and which must have consisted of at least 15,000 men, with many modern guns, without including the insurgent parties, attacked the lines of the precinct east and east-northeast of the city, that is El Caney, defended by General Vera de Rey with 520 men and two Plasencia guns, and the position of San Juan, occupied by two companies comprising 250 soldiers.

The attack which the Americans made with 12,000 men, as stated by themselves, was commanded by General Wheeler, second in command of the army.

A brigade of 3,500 men, also under the orders of said General Wheeler, and supported by another, directed its efforts upon El Caney, while Colonel Chaffee with 2,000 men attacked the hill and fort of San Juan.

The Americans, it must be acknowledged, fought that day with truly admirable courage and spirit. The houses of El Caney, which General Vara with his 520 men converted into as many fortresses, threw forth a hail of projectiles upon the enemy, while one company after another, without any protection, rushed with veritable fury upon the city. The first company having been decimated, another appeared, then a third, and still another, and those soldiers resembled moving statues (if I may be permitted that expression for want of a better) rather than men; but they met heroes, and although the houses had been riddled with bullets by the artillery and musketry, and although the streets were obstructed with dead and wounded, El Caney had been converted into a veritable volcano, vomiting forth lava and making it impossible to go near it.

Both sides being short of forces and out of breath, almost without having stirred from their relative positions, the battle ceased for some time, and General Vara de Rey took advantage of this circumstance to have his soldiers reform the lines and again get ready for the battle.

General Linares, who was repulsing the attacks at the position of San Juan, upon learning the result of these assaults, warmly congratulated the handful of lions in these words: "When the American army attacked El Caney they had not counted on a general of Vara de Rey's stamp and on troops as fiery and inured to warfare as those he had under his command."

The fight commenced once more and the enemy attacked again and again, being always repulsed, but as we had no reserve forces, and the Americans, on the contrary, had a great many, the battle was no longer possible under these circumstances. The General was wounded almost simultaneously in both legs by two musket balls, and as he was being carried away on a stretcher, the bullets falling around him like hail, he was killed by a third one, at the same moment as two of the men who were carrying him. The greater part of the commanders and officers (among them two relatives of the General) were dead or wounded, as also the majority of the soldiers. Finally, at 7 p. m., the commander being dead and those 520 men having been reduced to less than 100 and most of these slightly wounded and bruised, that handful of heroes, for want of forces and a commander, retreated from the site, which for ten hours they had been defending without being able to get any reenforcements, for there were none to be had, and the enemy

occupied the position on which he, in his turn, had made such a bold attack.

Of the 520 defenders of El Caney only 80 returned, most of them crippled and bruised. The Americans acknowledged that they had 900 casualties.

As has been stated, 2,000 men under the command of Colonel Chaffee, well protected, attacked in the morning the position of San Juan with the same spirit and enthusiasm with which Wheeler's men made the attack on El Caney.

Our headquarters were situated in an excellent position, at the crossing of the roads to El Caney and Pozo. General Linares had no available reserves; he therefore formed the echelon close to the positions of San Juan where he could observe the movements of the enemy and assist personally at points where his presence might be necessary.

With him was General Ordoñez with two rapid-fire guns.

In the foremost echelon at San Juan was Colonel José Baquero, of the Simancas regiment of infantry, who had come from Guantánamo with a message, and could not return on account of the blockade. This echelon was two companies strong, and before the Americans opened fire, it was reenforced by another company. It is here that Colonel Ordoñez was, with the rapid-fire division; the position being defended by 300 infantry and two guns.

The echelon nearest San Juan consisted of three companies of Talavero, one company with General Linares to the right of the Pozo road, forming an angle, in order to prevent a surrounding movement on the part of the enemy from the right of San Juan; another at the angle of the two roads referred to, and a third at Veguita toward El Caney, crossing their fire with that of the forces at Sueño.

In view of the small numbers of our forces and the ever increasing numbers of those of the Americans and their war material, we reenforced our positions by some trenches, under shelter of which we might be able to prolong the fight for a longer time.

The cavalry formed the third line at the fort of Canosa, protected by a small hill.

After the cannonade of the morning, in which our guns with accurate aim succeeded in causing the enemy many casualties and silencing the fire of one of his batteries erected at Pozo, and when the Americans had brought together considerable forces of infantry, they attacked about noon with cannon, machine-gun, and musket fire.

The situation of the line commanded by Baquero was critical. Colonel Ordoñez and the commander of the Porto Rico battalion, Mr. Lamadrid, had been wounded. One-half of the officers had

also fallen under the action of the lead that was pouring down upon the line. The enemy was advancing in large and compact masses, firmly resolved to take the positions, but Baquero, the brave soldier, who had distinguished himself so highly in the campaign, was there, keeping up by his example the spirit of the troops, almost annihilated by hunger and fatigue, and decimated by the clouds of bullets and grapeshot.

At this critical moment the cavalry was ordered to advance rapidly in order to protect the retreat of Colonel Baquero's forces and save the artillery if possible. Lieutenant Colonel Sierra hastened to carry out the order, as Commander Arraiz had done before him at San Juan.

The line which General Linares commanded personally now formed the vanguard. With his assistance the General's aids and his chief of staff had to organize the remnants of the first line.

It was necessary to maintain that position at any cost, for its loss would give the enemy free entrance into the city. The brave men of the first line were retreating. Colonel Baquero had disappeared, killed, no doubt, when he led that retreat under the hail of grapeshot and lead. The enemy was advancing in compact masses, and running at what was now the first line. Fortunately the fire of our infantry, accurately aimed, compelled the Americans to recede, and they retreated behind the positions of San Juan. At that moment General Linares and the brave commander of infantry, Arraiz, fell wounded; the latter officer, who had already shed his blood at Cacarajícara, was one of the most beautiful examples of the army.

While these cruel battles of El Caney and San Juan were carried on the enemy sent forces against our whole line, for the purpose, no doubt, of harassing us and making the attack more general.

The San Juan forces tried once more to recover themselves. Others came to their assistance, among them the company of marines which had been stationed at the Plaza de Toros with Captain Bustamente; but the enemy was already strongly occupying the position, our forces were scant, and success was impossible. Our artillery was steadily firing at many points of the line, loading the guns (old ones, as has been stated) without any protection, but the fire was extremely slow and therefore of little efficacy.

At 3.30 p. m. I went toward the Campo de Marte, impatient to learn what had happened. At the Plaza de Dolores I met General Linares. His arm, which had been seriously wounded in the first trenches, as stated, had been dressed at the military hospital and he was now being taken to his house on a stretcher, escorted by a few horsemen.

When I arrived at the end of Enramadas street and was only a few feet from a trench of the third line, covered by a section of volunteers, I saw part of the battlefield. The musket fire was very slow, and although Santa Ursula, situated to the right and somewhat in the rear of the trenches referred to, was firing as rapidly as its muzzle-loading guns permitted, it will be easily understood that there was no new attack that day.

I then went to the headquarters of the cavalry, at the entrance of El Caney road, where a section of the cavalrymen were ready to hasten wherever they might be ordered.

It may be said that the battle was at an end and many commanders and officers were arriving, all tired out and almost dying from thirst. Among others, I saw Commander Irlés, of the general staff, who had had either one or two horses killed under him, and there I learned that the number of commanders and officers wounded had been comparatively very large. Mr. Molina, lieutenant colonel of the civil guard, arrived and said that Commander Bustamente of the navy had been seriously wounded and was being carried on a stretcher. My consternation may be imagined. I hurried out to meet him and found him a few minutes later. In spite of the heat, he had been wearing his blue-cloth suit in the fight, by which he could easily be distinguished from all others. He was covered with blood, pale and disfigured, his eyes closed, and without his sabre and revolver. I learned that before he was wounded his horse was killed under him and his hat shot through. I accompanied him to the military hospital. In spite of his insignias of a commander, nobody paid much attention to him. This can be readily understood, for that day, in a short time, over 300 wounded had been received, and they were still coming. It was difficult to find beds and the attendant personnel, although increasing, was not sufficient to look after all.

I succeeded in finding Antonio Cañaz, the surgeon of marine, whom I know, and in whom I have unlimited confidence, and thanks to him, the wounded man was placed on a bed and his clothes taken off. They had to be cut with scissors. The wound was in the right side of the abdomen; his legs were covered with blood. The position of the bullet, the aspect of the wounded man, and above all the look with which Dr. Cañaz answered mine, left me no doubt. I knew that he had only a few moments to live and I left the hospital deeply affected.

I will add that, as the hospital was situated in the sector attacked by the enemy and near the trenches, being outside the city, musket balls were falling in great quantities in the court and on the roof; later on, shells were flying over it in all directions.

As has been seen, two battle ships from Aguadores were throwing projectiles upon the city and the bay, causing victims among the inhabitants and damages to the buildings. As I went to the captaincy of the port in the morning when the firing commenced, I saw at the ambulance improvised at the Bottino pharmacy, a woman who was having her head dressed, which had been struck by a fragment of shell. The wound, although not deep, was wide, and looked as though made with a razor.

At nightfall the firing ceased along the whole line.

Such were the battles of that day, so serious by reason of the blood that had been shed, as well as by their results.

With the loss of El Caney, we lost the line which it had been so imperative for us to keep, and also the aqueduct and the region under cultivation—that is, provisions and water. We had to confine ourselves to the defense of the precinct, knowing full well that, though the sad end might be held off for a day or two longer, there was no possibility of avoiding it.

Our casualties were as follows:

Killed: Brigadier General Joaquin Vara de Rey, 3 commanders, 12 officers, and 78 men.

Missing: Colonel of Infantry José Baquero, 4 officers, and 116 men. The colonel was probably killed, but this could not be verified.

Prisoners: Two officers.

Wounded: Lieutenant General Arsenio Linares Pombo, 6 commanders, 30 officers, and 339 men.

(Among the wounded officers was Colonel of Engineers Caula and Colonel of Artillery Ordoñez.)

TOTAL CASUALTIES.

Generals	2
Commanders	10
Officers	48
Men	533
Total	593

Almost one-fifth of the combatants covering the whole line, and the whole line was not even attacked, but only a sector of it; consequently not all of them fought.

The casualties of the enemy, as acknowledged by themselves, were:

In the attack on El Caney	900
In the attack on San Juan	432
At other points of attack	328
Total	1,760

In these cruel battles the army inspired the enemy with respect and true admiration, perhaps because he had supposed that they fought in the same manner as the insurgents. The foregoing is my firm conviction, because I have seen and observed the events which I narrate and have dwelt much upon them.

On the 1st day of July the Americans fought, as I have stated, without protection and with truly admirable courage, but they did not fight again as they did that day. They entrenched themselves and set up their artillery as fast as they received it, and did not again come out from behind their fortifications. Did they think on that first day that all they had to do was to attack our soldiers en masse to put them to flight? God knows.

It was difficult to convince them that only 520 men had been defending El Caney for ten hours. When doubt was no longer possible their admiration had no limits. When they entered Santiago de Cuba, the American soldiers and ours looked upon each other without any prejudice or jealousy, perhaps because they knew that both had fought like brave men, and whenever the Americans saw one of our men of the twenty-ninth (the number of the battalion "Constitución," which had defended the city, and has been referred to so many times) they would call him, look at him, and treat him with great admiration, wondering perhaps, how so simple a soldier could do such great things.

The men of the twenty-ninth, known to have done something worth doing, were loved and feasted by everyone and spent whole hours with the Americans, who did not understand them, but applauded everything they said, on the assumption, perhaps, that he who is brave must also be bright.

Incidents like these I saw, not once, but a hundred times, and they have made me believe and say what I have stated. I may be mistaken, but I do not believe it, because I have also noticed that the Yankees treat the insurgents, although they are their allies, very differently. Besides, I am only citing facts, and anyone can construe them to his own satisfaction.

From the foregoing, it is reasonable to believe that when 520 men maintained themselves at El Caney for ten hours, and 250 at San Juan for four hours, if Escario could have been there that day, so that there had been 3,000 men more in our lines, neither El Caney nor San Juan would have been lost, though attacked by almost the whole hostile army.

General Linares surrendered the command to General Toral.

In the battle of July 1, General Rubín, who commanded the forces of San Juan and Portillo del Caney, had his horse killed under him at the latter place at 5 o'clock p. m.

XXV.

ACTIONS OF THE 2D AND 3D.

July 2d.—At 5 o'clock gun and musket fire commenced, well sustained in the direction of the land.

At 6 the hostile fleet opened fire on the Morro and the Socapa. The greater part of the projectiles fell in the bay and on our fleet.

The firing ceased at 8.30.

Punta Gorda, which also opened fire, discharged 8 shots.

The musket fire was intense.

At 8.15 Punta Gorda again opened fire. At the same time the *Pluton* started up toward the mouth of the harbor. The musket fire ceased.

At 9.30 the military governor said by telephone: "I ask your excellency to send a boat, so that by going as close to the coast as possible, the enemy may be checked at San Antonio and Plaza de Toros." At this time the enemy opened musket fire in the same direction. It ceased shortly after.

The companies of the fleet embarked again. A pilot was sent to each one of the ships.

The body of sailors that disembarked was protected in a line of trenches by Colonel Aldea's column (Asiatic battalion), which withdrew from the coast to the city.

At 8 o'clock four wounded from the Socapa were brought to the pier. A shell which exploded on one of the guns killed three men and wounded six, completely disabling the mount of the Hontoria gun, which could no longer be used. Among the wounded was Ensign Fernandez Piña, who was in command of the battery.

At 1.30 a slow gun fire was heard in the distance.

The French consul, on horseback, with a flag of his nation on a very long pole, left for Cuabitas, followed by many people.

During the firing several projectiles of all calibers fell on the city.

At 3.15 musket and gun fire was being heard in the direction of Campo de Marte. The line of fire was very extensive and the musket fire intense.

At 4 o'clock the musket fire ceased, only the gun fire being heard now.

At 4.40 musket fire was again opened; volleys could be heard at intervals.

At 6 the firing ceased.

At 7 musket fire broke out again; ceasing at 7.30.

At 8.30 two blazes could be seen at the top of Monte Real to the west.

At 9.45 the enemy opened a violent musket and gun fire from the Plaza de Toros to the Campo de Marte (from east to east-north-east). To the left (Plaza de Toros) frequent volleys could be heard.

At 10.30 the musket and gun fire ceased.

The night was extremely dark. From 10 to 11.30 the ships of our fleet spoke by means of the ardois (light signals).

The enemy, during the night of the battle of Caney, and after burying the dead, not without paying due honors to General Vara de Rey, commenced work on the trenches, which they never left again, continued to surround our lines with the new reenforcements constantly arriving, and installed modern artillery and machine guns on the heights. The insurgents were covering Cuabitas and adjoining points, although in second line. We were decidedly surrounded and all our communications by land cut off, as they had been by sea for over a month and a half. Each hour that elapsed the enemy fortified the circle that inclosed us.

During the night the enemy kept up most incessantly a violent musket and terrific gun fire which we hardly answered, so as not to waste the little ammunition that we had left, which was, no doubt, what the enemy intended.

The Asiatic column (Colonel Aldea) arrived from the coast and occupied in line the post vacated by the companies of the fleet, situated on the road to Caney (in the entrance).

In the meantime the fleet was once more bombarding the Morro and the Socapa, where, after killing several men, they finally succeeded in dismounting one of the two Hontoria guns, which they had been constantly antagonizing since the 18th of May. At the same time they were bombarding the city from Aguadores, wounding several persons and ruining several houses.

The cruiser *Reina Mercedes* changed her anchoring place and remained at the head of the bay as much as possible, awaiting orders to open fire on Quintero Hill to check the enemy if he should appear there.

The French consul was the first to leave the city, which was abandoned by almost the whole population a few days later.

A little before 10 a. m. the enemy, who no doubt intended to surprise us, furiously attacked our lines, and was repulsed with great loss.

The events of the second of July may be summed up as follows:

Lively bombardment by sea and land, killing several men and disabling one of the only two guns with which we could attack the enemy trom the mouth of the harbor; bombarding with impunity the defenseless city; a battle from trenches, the fire of which we hardly answered, and finally a night surprise that resulted in failure.

The companies of the fleet embarked rapidly in spite of the prevailing conditions. A pilot was sent to each one of the ships, which latter took in their boats and steam launches and loosened the spring on their cables, and the gunboat *Alvarado*, which had come out of the slip and was afloat, raised at night the six Bustamente torpedoes that were obstructing the channel to the west. Everything indicated, without leaving room for doubt, that the fleet was about to go out; but when and how?

It occurred to me (and nobody could have dissuaded me from it) that a fleet from the Peninsula was on its way to Santiago; that it would pass in sight of the semaphore of Porto Rico; that consequently Admiral Cervera would know, given the distance and the speed of the former and allowing for the difference in time, when it would reach Santiago; and when fire was opened on the enemy it would leave the mouth free, he would go out and the two fleets combined would defeat the enemy. I remembered everything I had read in newspapers about the purchase of ships, and the date when those building had been launched. Everything became clear to me. We had ships and they were coming. No doubt they were quite near, or perhaps only a few miles distant, but where had the ships come from? I do not know—from heaven, from earth, from the air, from nothing at all—I do not know. But everything appeared possible to me, except that our fleet should go out alone to fight the ships that were assembled at the Morro.

The aid of marine, Mr. Dario Leguinia, even more optimistic than I (and that is saying a great deal), could not rest a minute. I shall never forget how during that night of the 2d we were sitting on the doorsteps of the captaincy of the port, making calculations as to the number of ships that might arrive and the probabilities of success that we could count on. Our ships communicating by means of the ardois were another proof of this. The event announced was near, and we were to see great things happening. At times we even thought we heard firing out there on the sea at a great distance and in a southeasterly direction. How much desire and imagination can do!

At 1 o'clock at night there was nothing special to be seen, and so, feeling sure that important events were to take place the following day, I retired, not without repeatedly impressing upon the seaman (cabo de matrícula) to notify me at once at the first movement of the fleet, or the first gun shot. It would not have been necessary. My impatience and anxiety would have taken care of that much better than the cabo.

The next day it was learned that the blazes we had seen on the Monte Real were from the burning of the forts and the heliograph, which the detachment there had abandoned to hasten to Santiago, in order not to be cut off and surrounded. During the march, which was full of hardships, it became necessary to kill a horse for food.

XXVI.

SORTIE OF THE FLEET

If I were to live a thousand years and a thousand centuries, never should I forget that 3d day of July, 1898, nor do I believe that Spain will ever forget it. The day dawned beautifully. One of those summer days when not the slightest breath of air stirs the leaves of the trees, when not the smallest cloud is visible in the skies; when not the slightest vapor fills the atmosphere, which was wonderfully transparent, so that the horizon could be observed at a great distance.

Nothing special was to be noticed among the ships of our fleet; motionless on the quiet waters of the bay, that reflected their hulls, though inverted, with wonderful accuracy, they looked as though they ought not to leave an anchoring place where they could remain in such perfect safety.

It was 8.30. Feeling sure that the ships would not go out, and taking advantage of the chance of getting a horse, for the distance was great, I went to the military hospital to see Mr. Joaquin Bustamente, whom I found a different man, as the saying is. His voice was strong, his eyes bright, and his cheeks flushed. He moved with ease and did not appear to experience any difficulty in doing so. I was agreeably surprised.

Why does one remember things that are really not of great importance? Is it perhaps because they are connected with others that are? I cannot explain it. I only know that I remember, word for word, the conversation that took place between us. It was as follows:

"Is the fleet not going out," he asked, without giving me a chance to say anything.

"Not just now, I believe, though it is ready to go out. Is it known when the other fleet will arrive?" I said.

"What other fleet?"

"The one that is supposed to come from Spain; they probably know at about what time it may be expected at the mouth of the harbor."

"Don't be simple." (I don't remember whether he called me simple, or innocent, or a fool.) "There is no other fleet; the ships

are going out and that is all there is to it. I have a letter from Don Pascual (Admiral Cervera) in which he tells me so."

I remained thunderstruck. I could doubt no longer. I know Admiral Cevera sufficiently well, as does everybody else, to know that he does not say, and still less write, what he does not intend to do.

"Do you think he will go out to-day?" I said.

"I thought he was going even now."

I could not answer. A gunshot which, judging from the direction, could only be from one of the two fleets, left me motionless.

Two or three minutes later a terrific cannonade commenced, such as I have never heard, nor will probably ever hear again, a cannonade more intense than that of June 6, a thing which I believed impossible, shaking the building, thundering through the air. I could not think coherently. I kept looking at Mr. Bustamente like an imbecile, and he looked at me and didn't say a word. I felt something that commenced at my feet and went up to my head, and my hair must have stood on end. Then suddenly, without taking leave, I went out, got on my horse and rode down the hill at breakneck speed, and I hardly understand how it was that I did not break my neck. I arrived at the captaincy of the port, where I found them all, from the commander of marine to the last clerk, with emotion painted on every face, and all looking in the direction of the mouth of the harbor, the mountains of which, that had been such a protection to us, and which now prevented us from seeing what was going on outside, we should have liked to grind to powder.

The noise caused by the gunshots which the mountains and valleys echoed was truly infernal and comparable to nothing. An idea may be gained of what it was when it is remembered that over 250 guns, most of them of large caliber and all breech-loading, were firing incessantly. The earth trembled, and very soon Punta Gorda, the Morro and the Socapa took part in the frightful concert, adding the thunder of their guns to the noise of those of the two fleets.

But the firing continued and that is what puzzled me. I thought, taking into account the number and class of hostile ships and of our own, that the catastrophe of the latter must necessarily take place in the very channel of the harbor, which is such a difficult one, even for ships of less length and draft than those which formed our fleet, under normal conditions; how much more, then, when sustaining a battle. A deviation, a change of course ahead of time, an injury to the rudder or the engine, even though slight and momentary, the least carelessness, in a word, might run a ship aground, and such a disaster would cause also the

destruction of the other ships that were coming after and which would have collided with the first; the hostile ships might sink the first right there and then; for the same reasons, the disaster of the others becomes inevitable.

To my mind, the going out from Santiago harbor under the circumstances Admiral Cervera did, and as confirmed by the commanders of the ships of the fleet, constitutes the greatest act of valor imaginable, for it meant to go out to certain death, not only with fearlessness, but with a clear head, for a man must be completely master of himself in order to command a ship without becoming excited nor losing his head. One may form an idea of it from the horror which I experienced, who was not in any of the ships, but I knew perfectly well the dangers of the enterprise, which, in my opinion, was impossible.

The day, as I said, was most beautiful and the calm perfect. Therefore, the smoke, far from vanishing, rose up in a straight line. When the first moments of excitement were over and we had somewhat cooled down, we could see perfectly that the smoke from the firing formed four groups more or less distant from each other, but what group did our fleet form? If the one farthest to the west, then no doubt it was not surrounded and had the open sea before it, and this was a great advantage. If, on the contrary, it formed the second or third, then it was between two fires.

Later on it was noticed that the firing was at a greater distance and decreased in intensity, and that the columns of smoke were moving farther to the west. Had they succeeded in escaping and outwitting the hostile fleet? For the present one thing was certain: Our ships had not gone down in the entrance of the harbor, nor even close to it, and that was of great importance, for the greatest danger was in the channel. Imagine our joy when the Morro advised us by telephone that our fleet was fighting in wing formation and that the enemy did not have the range. Evidently the age of miracles is not over. I will not try to describe what we felt that day—we, at Santiago, who have the honor of belonging to the navy.

I still had the horse at my disposal, and as I remembered the anxiety in which I had left Mr. Bustamente and his delicate state of health, I hastened to bring him the news, which I thought would do him a great deal of good. When I arrived, he knew it already, as everyone else did in Santiago. He had been all over the city. I found him radiant with satisfaction.

I may safely say that the 3d of July was a day of true rejoicing, for, as will be seen later when I relate the events of that day, it was believed that our ships had accomplished their object, although at the cost of the destroyers, the loss of which was

already known. And although we felt very sad over the victims there must have been, the result, on the whole, was so brilliant that it surpassed all reasonable expectations.

How great were my consternation and sorrow when, at 6 o'clock in the evening, I saw the pilot Miguel López arrive, his appearance changed and his clothing and shoes wet from the drizzling rain, with the news that he had at his house at Cinco Reales five shipwrecked from the *Maria Teresa* and *Oquendo*, worn out and weak; that both ships, on fire, had run aground on the coast close to each other west of Punta Cabrera and about 8 miles from the harbor of Santiago, and that a great many more, some wounded and all tired, were on the road.

The *Teresa* and *Oquendo* lost, besides the *Pluton* and *Furor!* What a horrible contrast and what a sad awakening! In the morning I had believed the ships safe and was already thinking of a telegram from Havana announcing their arrival at that port. At night the news of the catastrophe, the full extent of which I did not know even then!

But as my comments and lamentations do not explain what had happened, I will give the news as it was received in the course of the day at the captaincy of the port. It will explain why, for eight hours, we believed at Santiago de Cuba that the Spanish fleet was in safety.

XXVII.

NAVAL BATTLE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

July 3d.—The hostile fleet in sight, about 5 miles distant.

At 9.45 the Spanish fleet went out. Shortly after, a violent bombardment was heard.

At 10.40 the Morro said: "The Spanish fleet is fighting in wing formation at Punta Cabrera; the enemy does not have the range and it seems as though they would succeed in escaping. The American fleet is composed of the *Brooklyn*, *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Texas*, *Massachusetts*, *Oregon*, and one yacht. The ships from Aguadores have come to assist in the battle."

At 11.15 no more firing was heard.

At 12.30 the Morro said: "When the fleet went out it did so slowly. After the four large ships had gone out the destroyers went, and all of the American ships fell upon them. Our fleet opposed the attack and the destroyers hurried to join them, but near Punta Cabrera one of them took fire and ran ashore. The other continued to fire and when she saw herself lost she lowered two boats filled with men; one reached the coast, the other was captured. On leaving the destroyer they set it afire and she ran aground burning."

So they are both lost. When our fleet passed Punta Cabrera one of the ships, apparently the *Teresa*, went close to the shore and a great deal of smoke was seen. The *Iowa* and *New York* were pursuing her and the others followed them. By this time the hostile ships from Aguadores were already taking part in the fight.

At 2 an English warship was signaled to the south.

At 3 the Morro said that the ships which pursued our fleet were 24 in all; 15 warships, armored and unarmored; the others merchant vessels equipped for war.

At 6.30 the pilot, Miguel López, said that at his house at Cinco Reales, he had five shipwrecked from the *Teresa* and *Oquendo*, and they said there must be others at Cabañitas.

The tug *Esmeralda*, with the second commander of Marine and Ensign Nardiz, with the pilot, Lopez, and ten armed sailors, went out to gather them up. Forces of the army also went out in the

steamer *Colón* to protect those who might be returning by roads and paths along the coast.

At nightfall Colonel Escario's column arrived from Manzanillo.

My friend, Mr. Robert Mason, Chinese consul, who is interested in naval matters, and has a good understanding of everything concerning them, witnessed the battle from the Vigia del Medio, which is the highest mountain in the bay and overlooks a great part of it. But we must take into account that, as it is quite distant from the coast, the ships that pass close to it cannot be seen. As soon as he arrived he told me what had happened as he had seen it, and I put it down as he dictated it to me. The following is what I heard from his own lips, word for word, without changing anything in this interesting account:

"The *Teresa* went out first, then the *Vizcaya* and *Colón*; after a somewhat longer interval, the *Oquendo*, then the destroyers. The Admiral passed the Morro at 9.45. A little to windward of the Morro (west) was the *Brooklyn*. Opposite the Morro another ship, apparently the *Massachusetts*, and I could distinguish no other war ships from the Vigia. When the Admiral passed the Morro the hostile ships and the Morro and Socapa opened a violent fire simultaneously; the hostile ships that could not be seen and that were at Aguadores also opened fire at the same time. After passing the Morro, the Admiral went west and was lost from sight on account of the Socapa. The *Vizcaya* followed, and then the other two. In the meantime the destroyers remained in the bay. The Spanish ships were now visible again, the *Vizcaya* in the lead, the *Colón*, *Oquendo*, and *Maria Teresa* in line ahead at a certain distance from the American fleet. The Spanish fleet was firing slowly, the American ships lively, so that I did not lose sight again of the Spanish ships, but often of the American ships on account of the smoke. In the meantime the American war ships and two yachts were gathered opposite the Socapa, and when the destroyers came out it seemed impossible that they should be able to escape. The fire was horrible from the large guns, as well as from the rapid-fire guns. Nevertheless, the destroyers were lost from sight, but they appeared again, firing from their stern guns. As long as the ships could be distinguished it could not be estimated whether they had received injuries of any kind. When they disappeared from sight, at 10.30, we could see no injuries in the masts or smoke-stacks, or anything special. At this time we saw all the American ships firing in a westerly direction, and at that hour the *New York*, which had not yet entered the fight, passed the bay headed westward. When I left the battle I had not seen any ship run aground nor on fire, either Spanish or American."

Before I continue, in order to give a better understanding, I will recall the fact that the coast between Santiago and Punta Cabrera, a stretch of about 6 miles, forms a kind of bay on which are situated Cabañas and Guaicabón; that Punta Cabrera projects south and is very high land, consequently the ships which are west of it and close to the coast can not be seen. It is absolutely necessary to remember this in order to understand why it was that the final result of the battle was not seen.

At 9.30 the Spanish fleet started up; first the *Maria Teresa*, Admiral Cervera's flagship, the *Vizcaya*, then the *Cristóbal Colón*, and *Oquendo*. Behind these the *Plutón* and *Furor*. This was the order of sortie as I learned from the pilots, López and Núñez.

The *Brooklyn*, *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Texas*, *Massachusetts*, *Oregon*, and one yacht were waiting at the mouth of the harbor. The others arrived soon from Aguadores, where they had been, with their engines going and under steam. One of the last ones to arrive was the *New York*, which, the same as the *Brooklyn*, has a 20-mile speed.

The Spanish ships, which necessarily had to go out in line-ahead, received, as each went out, the fire of all the American ships, which they could not answer until they had passed the bank of Diamante, because they could not present the broadside, consequently their guns, to the enemy. Therefore, as long as they were inside of the harbor, they all sustained a terrible fire.

Nevertheless they came out without serious injuries and reached the open sea.

The *Vizcaya*, which was the fastest ship, but had not had her bottom cleaned, was making only 13 miles, and the other ships had to regulate their speed by hers in order to preserve the line.

I suppose from what happened and taking into account the order of the sortie that Admiral Cervera intended to protect the retreat of the *Vizcaya*, accompanied by the *Colón* (which did not have her turret guns mounted), with the *Oquendo* and *Maria Teresa*, and then have the latter, by putting on forced draft, rejoin the former, but both were set on fire by the stern, which they presented to the hostile fire, and they were soon converted into one immense blaze and went aground on the coast, the *Teresa* about 7 miles from Santiago harbor, west of Punta Cabrera, then close to her the *Oquendo*. These events I learned at nightfall from the shipwrecked who had arrived. The fate of the *Vizcaya* and *Cristóbal Colón* I will anticipate, in order to complete the account of what happened to the whole fleet as it was told me by an officer of the Austrian cruiser *Maria Teresa* (same name as ours) the next day.

When the *Oquendo* and *Teresa* had been lost, two or three American ships remained there to consummate the surrender and

gather up the shipwrecked and wounded and take the others prisoners. The other ships continued to pursue the *Vizcaya* and the *Colón*. The first of the two also took fire at the stern and stranded at a distance of about 20 miles (toward Aserradero); the second did not take fire. Probably her engine was damaged and she ran up on the coast about 60 miles distant (off Turquino).

Such was the hecatomb (for there is no other name for it) of our ill-fated fleet, and I do not believe that history records another like it. Not a single ship was saved from the catastrophe. The commanders and officers of all the ships knew well what was going to happen, when, calm and serene in spite of everything and ready to do their duty fully, they took leave of each other and of their comrades who remained on shore, as they did not belong to the fleet.

A person who has witnessed and seen with his own eyes an event like the one which I have in vain tried to describe, must necessarily be of interest, even though of little prominence and education. For that reason I have had the pilots Miguel López and Apolonio Núñez, who took out the *Teresa* and *Oquendo* respectively, repeat to me a hundred times what they had seen. I shall not copy everything they said; that would be too much of a task, but only what relates to the battle and which gives an idea of that veritable hell, for that is what the mouth of Santiago harbor was for fifteen minutes.

Miguel López, who is cool-headed and daring on land as well as on the sea, said to me about as follows:

"I was in the forward tower by the side of Admiral Cervera, who was as calm as though he had been at anchor in his own cabin, and was observing the channel and the hostile ships and only said these words:

"'Pilot, when can we shift the helm?' He had reference to turning to starboard, which could only be done after we had passed Diamante Bank. After a few seconds he said:

"'Pilot, advise me when we can shift the helm.'

"'I will advise you, Admiral,' I answered.

"A few moments later I said: 'Admiral, the helm may be shifted now.'

"In a moment the Admiral, without shouting, without becoming excited, as calm as usual, said: 'To starboard,' and the next minute, 'Fire!' At the same moment, simultaneously, the two guns of the turret and those of the port battery fired on a ship which seemed to me to be the *Indiana*. I thought the ship was sinking. I can not tell you, Don José, all that passed. By this time there were already many dead and wounded in the battery, because they had been firing on us for some time, and I believe that in spite of

the water that was in the ship she was already on fire then. The Admiral said to me:

"'Good-by, pilot; go now; go, and be sure you let them pay you, because you have earned it well.' And he continued to give orders."

These were, more or less, the words that Miguel Lopez spoke to me, and which he repeats to anyone who wishes to hear them.

Apolonio Nuñez, who took out the *Oquendo*, is very different from López, not daring, but rather easily frightened. These were his impressions:

"When we arrived at Santa Catalina battery, they were already firing. There was a hail of bullets on board which can not be compared to anything. I was in the tower looking after the course of the ship. The commander, who is very kind, and who knew me because I had taken the ship in on the 19th, said to me:

"'You can go, pilot; we can get along now, and later on perhaps you will not be able to go.' I thanked him and should have gone gladly enough, I can tell you, but I was afraid they might shift the helm before they passed Diamante, and you can imagine, Don José, what would have happened. I remained on board, and when we had passed the bank I said to him: 'Commander, you can shift the helm.'

"'Go, pilot, go,' he said, and then he commanded to put to starboard and shouted, 'Fire!' The noise caused by the big forward gun and the shaking of the ship made more impression on me than the fire of the Yankees. I thought the *Oquendo* had been cut in two. I do not even want to remember it. I was lowered in a boat and then I thought I was a dead man. The bullets were falling all around me. Finally I reached Estrella Cove, where Miguel López had already arrived. I did not even dare look at the battle, which was now outside of the harbor."

These two accounts, which perhaps, do not inspire the interest which no doubt they possess, because I have not been able to remember the exact words of the men, although in substance they are the same, may give an idea of that never-to-be-forgotten sortie which had such fatal consequences.

I supposed that the American fleet would await the Spanish fleet at the mouth of the harbor and absolutely prevent it from going out, under penalty of having the ships attacked. But that requires a great deal of courage and presence of mind. Nevertheless, it would have been the safest means for accomplishing it. By not doing so they exposed themselves to being outwitted and this is proved by the fact that our ships succeeded in getting out of the harbor and as far as Punta Cabrera (about 6 miles), so that

they really accomplished the most difficult part, and there is no doubt that if they had not been set on fire and if they had had a speed of even 18 miles they would have run the blockade.

It will also have been noticed that the three ships built in Spain all had the same fate; they were burned. The one built in Italy, although not having the turret guns, and which had suffered from the hostile fire much longer, because she "died" later than the others, was not burned; she had a different fate, but not that. I believe I am not bold in affirming that if the four ships had been protected like the *Colón*, they would have outwitted the enemy's pursuit. In that event they might have reached Havana, for as the whole, or nearly the whole, American fleet was in front of Santiago, they would have met no one to prevent them and the situation would have been very different.

A few of the shipwrecked arrived in the tug *Colón* and were embarked by our commander of marine in the cruiser *Reina Mercedes*.

The tug *Esmeralda*, with Ensign Nardiz, ten armed sailors, and the pilot López, went to Cabañitas Cove to gather up shipwrecked; but, although they made a careful search, they found none.

At night Colonel Escario's column, whose forces have already been mentioned, arrived from Manzanillo. The next day General Escario told me that when he heard the fire of the battle in the morning, he proceeded with a small vanguard to the heights of the harbor of Bayamo, and that the detachment there told him the same thing, viz, that they saw our ships run the blockade and disappear past Punta Cabrera.

To my mind there is nothing so interesting and eloquent as the account of a naval battle by persons who have taken part in it. Lieutenants Bustamente and Caballero, second in command of the destroyers *Furor* and *Plutón*, respectively, who escaped by a miracle from the horrible hecatomb, in which the greater part of their crews perished, told me two days after the catastrophe, still sick and tired, of the battle which their ships sustained. Their accounts follow:

Mr. CABALLERO: "The last ships were already outside of the harbor when the destroyers, which had stopped between the Socapa and Cay Smith for the purpose of getting up steam, proceeded and passed through the channel as far as Punta Morrillo, where the *Furor*, which was in the lead, put to port as though trying to go east, but when she discovered the *Gloucester* and other ships which were near Aguadores, she put to starboard, following the lead of our fleet, which was already at some distance, opening fire on the *Gloucester* which we (the two destroyers) had left astern. And

the *Indiana*, *Oregon*, *Iowa*, and *Texas*, which we had passed in the order named on the port hand, continued to fire very rapidly, which made it extremely difficult for us to serve the guns. After we had passed Cabañas we commenced to gain on the *Furor*, and when we came up with her and were about 50 meters to starboard, she listed rapidly on that side, her rudder having been disabled, and passed astern of us at a distance of 1 meter, and sank by the stern, standing up almost vertically, and was buried in the sea a moment later, before reaching Punta Cabrera.

"As we (the *Plutón*) were making a great deal of water we continued close to the shore to reach Punta Cabrera, and when we were close to the headland which it forms, we received a 32-centimeter projectile which exploded the forward group of boilers, blowing up the whole deck and cutting off communication between the two ends. She then veered to starboard and struck on the headland, tearing off a great part of the bow. The shock threw her back some distance, then she struck again. I jumped into the water and reached the shore.

"I climbed up on the headland of Punta Cabrera and lay there for about fifteen minutes, during which the fire continued. When it was at an end I went into the mountains and gathered up such personnel of the ship as I met—about 20 or 25—and with them I went around a small hill for the purpose of hiding from the coast and took the road to Santiago de Cuba, avoiding the roads and seeking the densest thickets and woods. The pilot, on pretext that the road which I was following was not a good one, left us and did not again put in an appearance. We continued walking in an easterly direction—some clothed, others naked, and the rest half clothed—for two hours, resting now and then, and trying to keep close to the coast. When we reached the beach we met Lieutenant Bustamente with a group of shipwrecked from the *Furor* (his ship) and some from the *Maria Teresa*. We saw a yacht with the English flag close to the coast maneuvering back of Punta Cabrera, as though trying to gather up the shipwrecked there. We made signals to her with a shirt, and seeing that she paid no attention to us we walked on, avoiding the formation of large groups and hiding ourselves as much as possible.

"About 3.30 we reached the harbor of Cabañas, which we had to cross swimming, and on the opposite shore, about 9 o'clock at night, we reached the trenches of the Socapa, where at last we could rest for the night, with the assistance of some guerrillas, who supplied us with what they could."

Mr. Bustamente: "When we (the *Furor*) reached the mouth of the harbor and saw the Spanish fleet, we thought that by shaping our course westward we could seek the protection of the Spanish

fleet, which was already at some distance, and we maneuvered accordingly. One of the projectiles struck one of the hatches of the boiler ventilators, thereby reducing the pressure and consequently the speed of the ship. By this time the projectiles were falling on board in large numbers. One of the shells struck Boatswain Dueñas, cutting him in two; one part fell between the tiller-ropes, interrupting them momentarily, and it was necessary to take it out in pieces. Another projectile destroyed the engine and the servo-motor, so that the ship could neither proceed nor maneuver. Another had struck the after shell room, exploding and destroying it.

Our torpedoes had their war-heads on and were ready to be used, but we did not launch them because we were never at a convenient distance from the enemy. Under these circumstances the commander of the destroyers, Captain Fernando Villaamil, gave orders to abandon the ship, and I with part of the crew jumped into the water, about 3 miles from the coast. In the water, one of the men near me, I believe the first boatswain, was struck by a bullet in the head and was buried in the water forever. The ship in the mean time, after a horrible series of explosions, went down. When we reached the land we went in an easterly direction towards Santiago. Shortly after we met Lieutenant Caballero and with him and his men we reached Santiago, and following the same road and the same fortunes; as they are identical, I will not here relate them."

To what has been said it is useless to add another word.

XXVIII.

CAUSES OF THE LOSS OF THE NAVAL BATTLE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Words fail me to describe the painful impression produced upon me by the disaster of the four cruisers and two destroyers under Admiral Cervera's command, and by what I may call the hecatomb of their crews, which was not complete for the only reason that the battle had taken place so near the shore, where the ships, all on fire, could run aground, rather than surrender to the enemy. In less than two hours the ships were destroyed, and yet, this is not strange. I am surprised, on the contrary, that they were not sunk in the channel.

The loss of the fleet had been foretold by all its commanders, with whom I have talked more than once, and was prophesied, so to speak, as soon as the order was received at the Cape Verde Islands to start for Cuba; and the admiral who was in command advised the Government to that effect several times; these official communications are still in existence. But it seems that public opinion in the island of Cuba, especially at Havana, required the presence of the fleet in those waters, and between that and the very sensible and logical reasons advanced by the admiral, the Government decided in favor of the former, and the fleet departed, shaping its course to the west. From that moment the loss of the fleet became inevitable, and it was only a question of time, as will be easily understood from what follows.

The fleet left the Cape Verde Islands with no more coal than was in the bunkers, the greater part of which must necessarily be used up during the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. The three destroyers, *Plutón*, *Furor*, and *Terror* accompanied it and had to be convoyed and supplied with coal, which involved difficulties and delays.

At Martinique (where the *Terror* was left, being no longer able to follow the fleet) the ships could not coal; and at Curaçao, in spite of the government's promise that they were to find a ship there with fuel, which did not put in an appearance, only two of the ships could get a small number of tons.

The order to proceed to the island of Cuba was there; what could they do under such circumstances? The only natural and logical thing: go to the harbor that was nearest and for that reason offered the least dangers, go to Santiago de Cuba, which Admiral Cervera believed well defended, as the harbor is suited for that purpose, and supplied with provisions. How great was his surprise when he found that only two guns worthy of the name defended its entrance, and that provisions were lacking in the city, as well as ammunition and everything else.

I have already stated, and will here repeat it, that during those days of May, before the hostile fleet appeared with forces superior to ours (that is, from the 20th to the 27th) the ships could not go out, not only because they did not have coal enough, but also because there was considerable swell in the sea, which prevented them from going out, as was stated by all the pilots of the locality, who said that the ships were almost sure to touch bottom, especially the *Colón*, which drew more water than the others.

We must take into account, for it means everything for a fleet, that they had not cleaned their bottoms for a long time and their speed was therefore far from what it should have been; the *Vizcaya*, above all, was not able to make 13 miles, and later, after being in Santiago harbor for 46 days, her speed was reduced to even less.

But even if there had been no swell in the sea to the south and the ships could have gone out, where would they have gone? To Havana by the shortest route? They would have met Sampson's fleet, as Admiral Cervera knew only too well, and that was just what he wished to avoid. Perhaps he might have succeeded by taking a course which he would have been least expected to take, through Providence Channel, for instance; and this did occur to Admiral Cervera, but it was impossible, for the simple reason that he did not have fuel enough for so many days of navigation.

Moreover, when the fleet reached Santiago harbor, everybody there, as well as in the Peninsula, believed it safe and congratulated its commander on his success and his clever maneuver; and when I say "everybody" I do not mean the common people only, but the official element. Could there be a better proof that Admiral Cervera complied with the wishes of the Government?

The fleet received definite order from the Captain General of the Island of Cuba to leave the harbor of Santiago, which he reiterated, in spite of Admiral Cervera's remonstrances. After that, what was to be done? Only one thing: go out, as indeed they did, resigned, but calm and serene, those heroes; for all those who went out with the fleet to certain death, as every one knew, deserve that name. And I say that they went out calm and serene, and shall say it a thousand times, for only thus can ships be maneuvered in

so narrow and dangerous a channel, without any of them running aground, which can happen so easily even under ordinary circumstances, when it is not necessary to oppose the fire of a hostile fleet, and with ships of less draught and length. The sortie from that harbor, under the circumstances under which those ships effected it, I do not hesitate in calling the greatest act of valor, fearlessness, skill, intelligence and practical experience in seamanship that can be conceived. This was stated repeatedly and with great admiration by the commanders and officers of the English corvette *Alert* and the Austrian cruiser *Maria Teresa*, who, it may be said, witnessed the battle.

The number of ships that were awaiting ours at the mouth of the harbor, and with which the latter had to fight, as well as their nature and the kind of armament they mounted, was given in one of the first chapters, from statistics of the American Navy. This alone is more than sufficient to demonstrate that, in view of the inferiority of ours in quantity and quality, it was impossible to sustain the battle.

But there is more, much more, to be added in order to explain what happened in the naval battle of Santiago de Cuba, the greater part of which is not known by the people in Spain.

I have already stated that the *Colón*, the only really protected ship of the four that composed the fleet, did not have her turret guns. Of the 14-cm. guns of the *Teresa*, *Oquendo*, and *Vizcaya*, which are the ones that do most of the firing in a battle, six had been declared useless; and while the *Teresa* could change hers, the *Oquendo* and *Vizcaya* could not do so, and had to fight, the former with one, the latter with two useless guns, as I have stated.

Moreover, the supply of ammunition for all of the ships was inadequate, and the *Teresa* had 70 useless charges. The greater part of the primers were no good, and consequently the guns did not go off. The breech-plugs were imperfect, so that after the second or third shot they no longer closed. The firing-pins blew out, and from many of the survivors of the *Oquendo* and *Teresa* I have learned that a number of the men serving the guns were wounded by their own pieces. Therefore, if the whole thing were not so sad and serious, it might be said that the guns of our ships were like the "carbine of Ambrosius," which went off at the breech; that is, that far from injuring the enemy, they were a danger to those who had charge of firing them.

The majority of the cartridge cases did not have the required diameter, and on the *Maria Teresa* it happened that seven had to be discarded before one good one could be found. Under these conditions, it will be readily understood that the armament, which was intended to be converted into rapid-fire artillery, was instead

converted into artillery—I do not know what to call it, but it was certainly entirely useless.

After what has been stated, can the result of the battle of Santiago be wondered at? Certainly not. The only thing that may appear strange is that, under such conditions, a fleet should have been sent to the scene of war.

It was under these circumstances that the sortie was made from the difficult harbor of Santiago by those commanders and officers who, convinced that they would all perish, contented themselves with saying farewell to the comrades who remained on shore and whom they never expected to see again.

We Spanish are very proud of the disaster of Trafalgar on account of the heroism which our navy showed on that occasion, when they placed honor above everything else, though our ships were buried in the sea. The battle of Santiago de Cuba is much more glorious even than that of 1805. In this latter battle, thirty-two allied ships of 64, 80, and 120 guns fought with twenty-eight English ships, also of 120, 80, and 64 guns; the forces, therefore, were almost equal; and if the battle was lost, while it might very well have been won, it was because our fleet was commanded by Villeneuve, and the hostile fleet by Nelson. In the battle of Santiago, six ships (if the *Plutón* and *Furor* may be called such), had to fight against twenty-four* that were better protected and armed. After these figures, anything else that might be added would appear to be useless.

I have never been able to understand the reason why there was sent to the Island of Cuba a fleet that was in no manner able to cope with that of the United States and which therefore could in no wise prevent the ships of the latter from blockading our ports and controlling the sea; but since it *was* sent, without its arrival being able to prevent the loss of the island, which was lost, as experience has shown, from the very moment when war was accepted, owing to the conditions prevailing there, then it should have been prevented from being destroyed, as it was, without resulting in any advantage whatever.

The only way of gaining any advantage would have been, in my opinion, taking advantage of the fact that all the hostile ships were

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* The writer makes a strange error in the number of the American ships engaged in this fight. He has evidently counted all those enumerated in Chapter IX. Those ships, however, were scattered among the fleets at Manila, Havana, Key West, and Santiago. Those actually engaged were as follows: *Brooklyn* (flag), *Oregon, Indiana, Iowa, Texas,* and yachts *Gloucester* and *Vixen.* The flagship *New York,* with the torpedo boat *Ericsson,* took part toward the latter end of the engagement, the battle being practically fought by the six ships first named. Counting only numbers of ships, therefore, the Americans had five fighting ships against the Spanish four, with two armed yachts against the two Spanish torpedo-boat destroyers.—O. N. I.

in Cuba, to send a few ships of great speed, more or less well armed, to the commercial ports of the United States and bombard them, even though not very effectively. It is probable that public opinion, especially of those who did not participate in the war, would have exacted the return of the ships, and then the Spanish fleet could have left Santiago in perfect safety, and a catastrophe would have been avoided which has brought us no advantage. At the same time, the ports of the island, freed from the blockade, could have supplied themselves with provisions; and although the final result would probably have been the same, it would not have been so immediate.

But all this is nothing more than hypothesis and supposition, and not timely; besides, it was not my object in writing this book. I have told how Admiral Cervera's fleet started from the Cape Verde Islands, how it arrived at Santiago, and how it went out to fight with Admiral Sampson's fleet, convinced that the greater part of the people living in Spain are ignorant of what I have set forth, and also convinced that, when the facts are known, the results will be judged differently.

XXIX.

SINKING OF THE MERCEDES.

July 4th.—Opposite the mouth of the harbor, the *New York*, *Brooklyn*, *Indiana*, *Massachusetts*, *Minneapolis*, *Vesuvius*, one yacht, and seventeen merchant vessels.

At 7 an English corvette arrived and asked for a pilot.

At 9 the Austrian cruiser *Maria Teresa* arrived.

The boats of both ships entered the harbor.

At 4 they departed with subjects of their respective nations.

At 8 p. m. the cruiser *Reina Mercedes* started up.

At 11.30 two gunshots were heard in the entrance at the foot of the Morro; afterwards many more.

At 12.45 the fire ceased. It was answered by the Socapa.

There was hardly a day when the hostile fleet and the Morro and Socapa did not exchange shots, or when some information was not received of injuries to one or more of the hostile ships, even of their having been burned and sunk, but as this has never been proved I have said nothing on the subject, being resolved to say nothing except what has been positively proved and what everybody knew who remained at Santiago during the time when the events that are the object of these notes occurred. It is natural that the ships which sustained the fire so many times (the opposite would be improbable) should have suffered some damages and casualties, although they were stationed at a considerable distance, but there is no doubt that they were not serious; if so, they would have been clearly seen.

On the day of the battle of the two fleets I was assured by sailors from the Socapa and by those shipwrecked that they had seen such and such a ship sunk, or such other one on fire, and such and such a tug had taken off some other ship. It seemed probable, but nothing of the kind happened. The next day the ships that had fought with ours were all at Daiquiri, at Aguadores, or opposite the mouth of the harbor; that is the reason why I have never spoken of the damages done to the blockading ships.

The English corvette *Alert* and the Austrian cruiser *Maria Teresa* could, of course, not enter the harbor, because we had

planted Bustamente torpedoes (although only a part of them) and stretched wires across. The tug *Colón* went out with a flag of truce to notify them to that effect, and they sent in their boats, towed by steam launches.

From the Austrian officers it was learned at the commandancia de marina what had happened to the *Vizcaya* and *Oquendo* in the battle of the preceding day, for they had arrived just in time to hear the gunshots and to see the ships stranded and lost on the coast. All agreed, of course, that our fleet had fought admirably, and, above all, that the sortie of the ships from the harbor under the circumstances under which they executed it, showed a courage, skill, and practical seamanship truly admirable. It is always a comfort to see that justice is being done, and that comfort I had at that time.

As the interior of the harbor did no longer have the safeguard of the fleet, as the Bustamente torpedoes (six of them) had been taken up so that the fleet could go out and had not yet been replaced, and as, finally, the first line of mines no longer existed, the commander of marine decided—General Toral also being of his opinion—to sink the *Mercedes* (the only ship that was suitable for that purpose) in the narrow part of the channel; consequently, the commander of the cruiser received orders to do so. Hurriedly, for time was pressing, the wounded and sick from the lost fleet were transferred to the steamer *Méjico*, which had been converted into a hospital and hoisted the flag of the Red Cross. Important papers that had been saved, memoranda, portable arms, beds, and the most necessary things, were taken off the *Mercedes*, and at 8 p. m., with her commander, Ensign Nardiz, a few engineers, the necessary sailors, and Pilots Apolonio Nuñez and Miguel López, started toward the entrance, with her bow anchor and stern spring on the cable ready.

At 11.30, as soon as the enemy, who was watching with search lights, sighted her, he opened a continuous fire on the ship. In spite of this the ship was sunk at the intended place, a very difficult operation under any circumstances and especially under fire, as will be readily understood. Unfortunately the ship did not come to lie across the channel, because it seems a projectile cut the spring on the cable; the sacrifice was useless and the harbor was not obstructed. Yet it was not entirely useless, since the enemy could not take possession of her, as she is all riddled by bullets which she received that night, and I do not believe she can ever again be used.

And since so much has been said of this ship, I will give an account of all the victims of her crew, some on board, some at the Socapa, Punta Gorda, and the Morro, from the beginning to the end of the war.

Commander Emilio Acosta, second in command, was killed. (Here follow the names of the killed and wounded. The list includes 5 dead, 11 seriously wounded—two of them fatally—16 slightly wounded.)

The enemy cut off the aqueduct so that there was no water left in the city, except in the wells and cisterns.

The shipwrecked, who have arrived from the fleet, are Lieutenants Bustamente and Caballero, second in command of the destroyers, respectively; Midshipman Navia; several engineers and about 150 sailors.

Many were murdered by the insurgents with guns and machetes. I say murdered, because I believe there is no other name for killing with guns and machetes men who were not only disarmed, but almost naked, sick, and many of them wounded. I realize the seriousness of such an accusation, but it is the statement of all who have succeeded in escaping.

XXXI.

IN THE CITY AND IN THE BAY.

July 5th.—The usual ships blockading the harbor.

The greater part of the population has left the city, fleeing from the bombardment.

The merchant steamers are firing up.

The Morro says that there are 28 merchant and war vessels in sight. The *Oregon* and *Brooklyn* are missing.

In the city the streets are deserted and nearly all the houses locked up.

6th.—The two 9-cm. Krupp guns at Punta Gorda were taken down to be installed in the precinct of the city.

A German war ship was signaled to the south.

Mr. Mason, with a flag of truce, went out in the tug *Colón* to communicate with her. When he arrived at the mouth of the harbor the ship had already left.

At 5 General Toral was advised by General Shafter that the suspension of hostilities was at an end.

Lieutenant Hobson, of the *Merrimac*, and the seven men were exchanged.

In the American fleet there are 1,100 Spanish prisoners, among them over 300 wounded.

7th.—It was learned that the prisoners of our fleet are being sent to the United States.

The two 42-centimeter guns of the *Méjico* were disembarked for the purpose of being erected in the precinct of the city. Forty Mauser guns were also taken off the ship. They could not be set up.

8th.—The hostile fleet continues the blockade.

Orders were given by the commandancia de marina to the captains of the merchant steamers to sink their ships.

A private house was prepared to receive the sick and wounded of the fleet. The convalescents were sent to the quarters of the firemen.

9th.—The hostile fleet in sight as usual.

Order of General Toral to have the merchant vessels refill their bunkers at the piers of Las Cruces and the Railway.

The wounded and sick of the fleet were transferred from the *Méjico* to the house fitted out for a hospital by the Navy.

On the 4th General Shafter notified the consuls that the city would be bombarded, so that all those might leave who did not form part of the garrison. At their request for more time in order to take away their families, the term was prolonged twenty-four hours.

The panic became general, and at daybreak of the 5th the population almost en masse left in the direction of Caney, so as to avoid a bombardment which all supposed would be horrible and not leave one stone upon the other.

The steamers, full of people, were ready to proceed to Las Cruces, Cinco Reales, and all the coves on the eastern coast of the bay, where they thought they would be better protected and safer.

All along the coast regular camps were established within the shelter of the mountains. It may be safely said that there were not 5,000 inhabitants left in the city. All the windows and doors were closed, and Santiago presented the same aspect that Pompeii and Herculaneum must have offered. Not a single store was open, not even the drug stores. The desertion and solitude were complete.

A few horses were running through the city, pulling up the grass growing along the sidewalks. Many dogs are staying at the entrances of the houses, which their masters have abandoned, without having anything to eat, nor anything to drink, which is worse. At night they bark incessantly, which makes the scene still more impressive. I have several times gone from the captaincy of the port to the military hospital, that is, across the city from one end to the other, without seeing a single door open or meeting a single person in the streets or public places, except a guerrilla or one or two couples of the civil guard. The solitude and the silence were absolute.

At night the city was truly impressive. The streets, the lamps not being lit, were as dark as wolves' dens, and it was not possible to cross them without being in constant danger of stumbling. A few guerrillas, taking advantage of the circumstances, were breaking into abandoned stores and houses, which they ransacked; for instance, the house of my friend, Commander Ros, governor of the Morro, situated in San Tadeo street, which I saw with my own eyes. They left nothing whole, and him only with the clothing he wore and 20 pesos which he had with him. The criminals, who were caught in the act, were four guerrillas. I speak with a perfect knowledge of what happened, and, as will be seen, I cite examples of well-known persons.

There is no excuse for such actions, and I shall not try to extenuate them; but it is also just to say, in honor of the truth, that the soldiers, who had hardly anything to eat and little water to drink, and who spent day and night in the trenches, were not to be found in the city, and when on rare occasions one would go there to see whether he could not get a glass of water or buy a box of sardines or a piece of hardtack, which the merchants were hiding, the latter asked him six times what it was worth, and fleeced him (I find no other word for it) without shame or compassion.

I must also add that such abuses, which were repressed as soon as they were commenced—thanks to the civil guard and patrols, who walked through the city day and night—were not committed by the troops, except in isolated cases, as in that of Mr. Ros. They were committed by citizens, although they were imputed to those who knew how to enter the houses without forcing the principal door. I might cite a thousand examples which would convince the most incredulous and which I omit for the sake of brevity. Thanks to the energy displayed by General Toral, the street lamps were finally lighted, so that it became possible to venture into the streets at night. As a proof of the proportions which this plundering reached, I will copy a decree which the General found it necessary to promulgate. The decree was as follows:

"I, José Toral y Velazquez, General of Division, Commander General of the Division of Santiago de Cuba, and Military Governor of the City and Province,

"In view of the frequent robberies which are being committed in this city, by reason of the peculiar circumstances in which it finds itself, in order to repress them, and by virtue of the authority vested in me under Article 670 of the Campaign Regulations, issue the following:

"DECREE.

"Article 1. All soldiers who, in disobedience of this decree, shall destroy or set on fire buildings or property, or commit any acts of violence on persons, shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for life, after previous degradation, in conformity with Article 239 of the Code of Military Justice.

"The penalty of death shall be imposed upon the instigators, or persons employing soldiers for this purpose.

"Criminals caught in the act of committing these offenses shall be summarily judged in conformity with Article 649 of the Code of Military Justice.

"Article 2. Civilians who shall commit the same offenses shall be adjudged in conformity with the Civil Code in force in this island, and the law shall be applied in its whole rigor by the respective Council of War.

"Article 3. Anyone surprised in the act, who shall not give himself up at the first intimation, shall be fired upon.

"José Toral.

"Santiago de Cuba, *July 16, 1898.*"

As it is my object to relate everything that happened at Santiago de Cuba, without omitting even the most insignificent events, so that an exact idea may be formed of everything, I must also state that, as I was told by Mr. Romero, captain of the civil guard, who was wounded at Caney on the evening of the 1st, where he had arrived in the morning to take charge of the military commandancia of that place, and taken prisoner by the Americans, he was nursed, attended, and treated with all the attention due to his rank and condition, as also others who were in the same case. This proves that only the Government of the United States and the jingoes are the authors of the unjust war that is being carried on, but not the people in general, and still less the Army, which, as its own officers and soldiers have assured me, is desirous of having it terminated as soon as possible.

XXXII.

BATTLES AND BOMBARDMENTS OF THE 10th AND 11th.

July 10th.—The usual ships opposite the harbor. The general staff of the fourth army corps has asked for a statement as to the personnel and armament of the navy, which was forwarded to him.

General Shafter gave notice that hostilities had again broken out since 4 in the afternoon.

At 3 the hamlet of Dos Caminos was burned.

At 5 a gunshot was heard which had been fired by the fleet; immediately after a sustained musket fire, which became very intense.

The artillery on land is firing, ours is answering.

At 5.15 the fleet opened fire on the coast.

At 6.30 the firing ceased by sea and by land.

The enemy has abandoned two trenches.

11th.—The fleet is guarding the harbor and Aguadores.

At 6 a slow musket fire commenced on land; a few volleys are heard.

At 8.30 two ships opened fire on the city from Aguadores. A few projectiles fall at the head of the bay, where the *Alvarado* is at anchor.

During yesterday 46 wounded were received at the military hospital. There were seven dead.

At 2 p. m. the bombardment ceased.

At 2.30 firing ceased in the precinct.

At 5 the enemy hoisted a flag of truce on the Fort San Juan.

At night many fires were seen on the heights near the cemetery and at the head of the bay (to the northwest).

The gunboat *Alvarado* asked for permission to fire; it was denied on account of the truce.

On the 10th the enemy, already in the trenches and being in possession of all the adjoining heights where he has installed numerous modern guns, opened a lively musket and gun fire, at 5 p. m., upon a great extent of our line. The artillery answered firmly, but there was hardly any musket fire, because orders had been given and complied with to economize ammunition at any cost.

Two hours previously, our advance forces had withdrawn to the city, abandoning the foremost position at Dos Caminos del Cobre, first setting it on fire.

The fleet at the same time opened fire on Aguadores and surrounding points on the coast, and on our lines. The battle was limited to firing from the trenches. Nevertheless, as the enemy was very numerous and his lines only a few meters from ours, we had 7 dead and 47 wounded. During the engagement the Americans abandoned two trenches which they could not hold because they were flanked by ours.

At 8.30 the following day the fleet bombarded the city from Aguadores, having given notice to that effect as early as the 4th. As I said, the ships of the fleet, taking turns two by two, fired rather slowly, and only until 2.30 p. m., but notwithstanding, there were 59 houses that suffered considerable damage. One shell went through a foundation in San Basilio street, where it dropped and exploded, and a shell cut an iron column of a provision store in two, penetrating into a house in Marina street, after piercing the wall. Another shell penetrated at No. 9 Santa Lucia High street, destroying the hall and one room. In the provision store of Messrs. Brauet, in Fundicion street, two 20-meter shells (nearly all were of this caliber, or of 16 centimeters) fell; one only exploded, causing great havoc. The most remarkable case of all was Mr. Marcané's house, in Santo Tomas Place. A single shell ruined it completely. It is hard to understand how a single projectile can do what that one did.

Between the garden of the Alameda and the railway station, being a distance of about 800 meters, 23 projectiles fell. Many of them did not explode. One of them went through a tree, as though it had been a gimlet. At the ice factory two fell, and three at the railway station. A great many fell near the piers, and still more near the place where the gunboat *Alvarado* was at anchor.

As the city was almost abandoned, there was no loss of life.

In the meantime the enemy continued to antagonize our lines in order to compel the soldiers to consume the scant ammunition that remained, but orders had been given not to answer the fire, and so there was hardly any musket fire. Gun fire only answered very slowly, as is necessary with antiquated guns. The enemy, on the other hand, was constantly receiving modern guns and setting them up rapidly. We were within a circle of fire, and although that phrase has been somewhat abused, I find no other that better describes the situation.

At 5 p. m. the enemy hoisted a white flag on Fort San Juan and a spokesman was received.

Though this may not be the right moment, I want to make an observation. It has been asked many times why Admiral Cervera's fleet, whose object was to run the blockade and elude the hostile fleet, did not go out at night.

Of course, the Admiral did not tell me his reasons, but it is easy to understand them.

The hostile fleet was constantly watching the entrance of the harbor with its search lights, making it as light as though it were day. There the ships would probably have been seen just the same. On the other hand, the sortie, which even in daytime is extremely difficult, would have been short of impossible at night, when blinded by the search lights, and would necessarily have resulted in a catastrophe. The sortie at night was impracticable. It was absolutely necessary to effect it in daytime; at least, if the enemy saw us, we also saw him, and the chances for not running aground in the channel were much better. From the foregoing I believe that anyone, even though not acquainted with naval matters, will understand why Admiral Cervera did not go out at night.

As a proof of this, I will say that on the night when the cruiser *Reina Mercedes* was sunk the hostile ships fired upon her with the same accuracy as though it had been daytime.

For a better understanding of the events and engagements of the 10th and 11th of July, I will copy below the official report of Lieutenant Colonel Barbon and that of Lieutenant of Artillery Moreno to General Escario, as also a statement of the shots which our guns fired during those days. One need only glance at the statement referred to to see at once that on the first day 167 shots could be fired, and the next day, being the 11th, only 35, because the enemy had dismounted and disabled some of our guns. A simple calculation is sufficient to understand that the following day not a single gun could probably have been fired. Before such proofs, comments are unnecessary.

"Having been placed in charge of the forces on the right hand of the plantation called El Sueño, on the heights and in the glens which border on the avenues of Caney and Canosa, and the roads of Pozo and San Juan, composed of six companies of the Isabel la Católica Regiment, two of the Alcántara Battalion, one of the Asiatic Battalion, and one of guerrillas as stretchermen, I have the honor to report to you that at 4.30 a. m. yesterday the enemy opened machine-gun and musket fire on our positions, without daring to make any forward movement; such prudence being founded, no doubt, on the respect inspired by our sepulchral silence before the thunderous noise of their many guns, for only 10 marksmen, in convenient positions, had orders to fire on a trench which they attacked on the flank and dislodged at the end of 15 minutes. At nightfall, 7.30 p. m., the enemy ceased firing.

"To-day, at 6.30 a. m., the enemy again opened fire, while our side did not waste a single cartridge, the enemy continuing with the same activity as yesterday, without coming out of his trenches, until 4.30 p. m., when he ceased firing and asked for suspension.

"The casualties on our side were, on the 10th, 6 dead and 29 wounded, and to-day, one dead, 5 wounded, and one bruised; total casualties during the two days, 42.

"You will see from the above that I have exactly complied with your orders not to fire until the enemy should come out of his trenches to attack.

"I only need add that all the forces without exception did their duty as brave men, full of enthusiasm, and I had to recommend repeatedly that they should conceal in order to avoid needless casualties, which seemed difficult, and there is nothing strange about it, as our men, for the first time in three years of campaign, were enclosed in trenches and on the defensive.

(Here follow special recommendations for bravery of three officers, being 1 commander and 2 lieutenants.)

(Signed) "BALDOMERO BARBON."

"SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *August 11, 1898.*"

Copy of the report made by the first lieutenant in charge of the artillery of the sector:

"ARTILLERY, CITY OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA,
SECTOR FROM THE PORTILLO DEL CANEY TO SAN ANTONIO.

"HONORED SIR: Fire was opened by the enemy yesterday at 4.45 p. m., and the batteries of this sector made it their business to silence it, or at least diminish it as much as possible, given the limited effectiveness of the guns which formed them—most of them muzzle-loading—and the reduced caliber of the only four which are of modern types, and can therefore keep up an accurate and rapid fire. The enemy's batteries, as has been observed on previous days by means of glasses, and as we have experienced practically to-day, are quite numerous, very well installed without leaving any space uncovered, and occupy positions overlooking ours, and are for that latter reason well adapted to train successfully, and to be of great moral effect on our troops, who are harassed almost vertically by the grapeshot (shrapnel?) inside the trenches. The guns of these batteries are of small and medium caliber, as may be seen from the size of their projectiles, and the shape of the latter shows that they are breech-loading guns, and for that reason alone, of the greatest advantage over ours. A few fire dynamite projectiles, but it was noticed that they are of little accuracy, although very effective when they explode. At the same moment when the musket and machine-gun fire was opened,

which was hardly answered from the city, gun fire also commenced, and as the effect of the shells began to be felt at the first shots, it became necessary for us to do what we could to decrease the cannonade. Firing was commenced on the whole sector at the same time and with such rapidity as each gun permitted, except the Plasencia guns, for if we had continued to fire them with the same rapidity as the gunners, anxious to injure the enemy, had commenced, we would have consumed the whole of the ammunition in two hours. All the shots were made under the action of a constant musket and machine-gun fire, aimed particularly at the batteries, for the apparent purpose of not allowing us to come out of the trenches to load and train our guns. In view of the sustained artillery fire from the city the enemy moderated his somewhat, especially in the sector between Nispero and San Antonio, and by 6 p. m. the only guns that were doing any firing worthy of mention were those installed opposite the Portillo del Caney. This circumstance was very favorable for us. The ostentatious artillery fire which we did during the first moments checked the enemy's rapid fire along the greater part of the line, and if this had not been the case we should have been compelled to keep silent before his batteries, for of the 12 guns of different calibers of the batteries of Nispero, Sueño, Santo Inés, and San Antonio, we had left at the hour mentioned only three 8-cm. and two 16-cm. guns; the others had been put out of action, the carriages of most of them having been disabled. The batteries of Portillo del Caney continued to answer the fire, which was aimed at them particularly without a moment's cessation, and in one of them I was an eye witness of an incident worthy of mention. A training gunner of one of the 8-cm. Plasencia guns, whose captain had been previously wounded, was shot through one arm, and he continued to train, for fear that there would be no one to relieve him, until, a relief having been effected, he was obliged to go to the nearest hospital. At the same moment an artillerist came out with a mule and ran in the direction of the headquarters at Concha, passing through the musket and machine-gun fire, shouting, 'Long live Spain!' through the streets. He was on his way to get another supply of common shells for the gun, its supply having been consumed during the first shots. These incidents, and similar ones which no doubt occurred all along the line and in the trenches, show, honored General, that while the enemy had succeeded, owing to the superior position of his batteries, in acquiring greater accuracy of fire, he had not been able to quell the courage of our soldiers, always cool-headed before the greatest danger, even to the very last moment.

"At 7 p. m. the firing ceased, leaving us in bad condition for to-day, because, as I have already stated, only two 16-cm. and three 8-cm. guns, and two 8-cm. Plasencia, and two rapid-fire Krupp guns, are all that are available for the defense, and the majority of the mounts for the old ones are somewhat defective. * * *

"At 5.30 a. m. to-day fire was opened by a few musket shots, and a few minutes after the artillery battle commenced. The batteries with which the enemy fired yesterday are not the only ones he has; he also has large-caliber guns, or perhaps howitzers, which, being installed at a considerable distance from the city and covered by the hills, keep up a constant fire upon us, which we are not able to answer. Yesterday we could distinguish the flashing from the batteries erected between the Portillo del Caney and San Antonio, and to-day we can see only three opposite the said Portillo; the others were firing completely under cover, and we were not even able to disturb the composure with which they were trained. It is known that we did them some damage yesterday, and that is perhaps the reason why they have taken this position to-day. Only two shots were fired in the morning at Santa Inés and two more at San Antonio. And the rest of the day we have been able to fire only from the 8-cm. Plasencia battery and the 7.5 rapid-fire Krupp battery, erected at the Portillo del Caney and Palomar, respectively, which had opposite them three 9-cm. batteries of the enemy at a distance of 1,100 meters from the former and 1,600 meters from the latter. From the first moment it could be seen that the enemy's objective was to bombard the city, and his fire was aimed entirely at that target. Yesterday they took the exact distance from their batteries to the principal points of the city, and to-day, making use of yesterday's notes, they put the shells just where they wanted, and the trajectories of those from the same battery were almost identical. I repeat that there were only three in sight, and upon these three we opened fire at 6 a. m. with the rapid-fire guns. When the first shot was discharged the enemy partly changed his objective, and soon the battery mentioned and one of the hidden ones aimed their fire at Palomar, but were not able to hit the rapid-fire guns until 10 a. m., because these guns, being of reduced dimensions, in sunken battery, and with hardly any smoke from the discharge, were hardly visible to the enemy. For four hours we fired without knowing where we were, but very slowly, because the number of ordinary shells and grapeshot for the guns referred to is already very small. After these first four hours were over, the enemy answered each shot with 8 or 10 of his, which, with almost mathematical precision, were aimed at the battery. About the same thing, but on a greater scale owing to the proximity of the opposing batteries and the good target formed by the smoke which

developed at each shot, happened at the Plasencia guns. Since 8 o'clock in the morning, when the fire was opened, until 3 in the afternoon, the places where the guns were erected were veritable centers of impact, since we had only two batteries and the enemy a great many. And when a shot was fired, all concentrated their fire on the one that had discharged. In order to fire at all, it was necessary to make the enemy believe, by using artificial means, that the gun had been put out of action. When this did not succeed, the gun fire aimed at the battery was incessant, and made it impossible for us to load and train. As I have stated, at 3 p. m. the firing ceased, and yesterday as well as to-day I noticed the greatest order among the officers and men in charge of the different batteries. At the Plasencia guns, the second gunner, Antonio Escriba Escriba, belonging to the 2d section of the 1st battery of the 5th Mountain Regiment, was wounded. The total number of shots fired yesterday and to-day is as follows: 16, with the rapid-fire guns; 33, with the 8-cm. Plasencia guns; 29, with the 8-cm. guns; 63, with the 8-cm. short breech-loaders; 10, with the 16-cm. and 10 with the 12-cm. bronze guns.

"May God guard your excellency for many years.

"JUAN MORENO,

"*First lieutenant,*

Commander of artillery of the sector.

"SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *July 11, 1898.*"

The guns which the Americans had in the batteries of the circle, were all of modern type, with calibers of 8, 9, 7, and 7.5 cm. They fired mostly grapeshot (shrapnel ?) with 10 per cent ordinary shells. They also made use of dynamite shells, but the number of these projectiles did not exceed 5 per cent of the total number thrown upon the city.

The batteries that were most persistent in firing on the 10th were those erected in the vicinity of the Caney road, and they fired only about 150 shots, with an average rapidity of 14 or 16 shots per hour and battery. The others, which ceased firing an hour earlier, discharged about 100 shots.

On the 11th the gun fire was more sustained, but slower. All the batteries fired about alike and discharged in all about 700 shots.

BATTERIES OF THE PRECINCT OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA

Batteries and guns.	No. of shots.	
	10th.	11th.
Fuerte Nuevo:		
One 12-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	1	-------
Cañadas:		
One 16-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	2	-------
Santa Ursula:		
Battery No. 1: Two 8-cm. muzzle-loading bronze guns	10	-------
Battery No. 2: Two 8-cm. long muzzle-loading bronze guns	8	-------
Battery No. 3: Two 9-cm. long muzzle-loading bronze guns	16	6
Portillo Caney:		
Battery No. 1: Two 8-cm. short breech-loading bronze guns (Plasencia system)	25	10
Battery No. 2: Two 8-cm. long muzzle-loading bronze guns	24	-------
Nisero:		
Battery No. 1: One 16-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	1	-------
Battery No. 2: One 12-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	2	-------
Battery No. 3: Two 8-cm. short breech-loading bronze guns	30	-------
Sueño:		
Battery No. 1: One 16-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	3	-------
Battery No. 2: One 12-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	2	-------
Battery No. 3: Two 8-cm. short breech-loaders	25	-------
Santa Inés:		
Battery No. 1: One 16-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	2	2
Battery No. 2: One 12-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	4	-------
Battery No. 3: Two 8-cm. short breech-loading guns	10	-------
San Antonio:		
One 16-cm. muzzle-loading bronze gun	2	1
Palomar:		
Two 7.5-cm. short breech-loading rapid-fire Krupp guns	-------	16

During the firing on the 10th, the following guns were put out of action: The gun of the battery of Fuerte Nuevo; one of each of the Santa Ursula batteries; the two of battery No. 2 of the Portillo del Caney; those of the Nisero batteries Nos. 2 and 3; those of batteries Nos. 1 and 2 and one of battery No. 3 of Sueño; and that of Battery No. 2 and one of Battery No. 3 of Santa Inés.

To sum up, there were disabled: four 12-cm., one 16-cm., eight 8-cm. guns, old systems, and one 9-cm. breechloader.

The 9-cm. gun was disabled by the enemy, as also one of the 12-cm. guns of Sueño, the cause being that the 12-cm. guns were mounted on "skeleton" carriages that did not belong to them, and broke at the first or second shot, and that the 8-cm. old guns, although mounted in their own carriages, these being of wood and in bad repair, they had the same fate as soon as a few shots were fired. The 16-cm. gun was disabled by the cartridge sticking in the chamber.

XXXIV.

CAPITULATION.

July 16th.—The people have returned from Caney.

Negotiations for the capitulation having been opened, we think it proper to give the following important document:

"NEUTRAL CAMP NEAR SANTIAGO DE CUBA,
UNDER THE FLAG OF TRUCE, *July 14th, 1898.*

"Recognizing the nobleness, valor, and bravery of Generals Linares and Toral and of the Spanish troops who took part in the actions that have recently occurred in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, as shown in said battles, we, the undersigned, officers of the United States Army, who had the honor of taking part in the actions referred to, and who now constitute a committee, duly authorized, treating with a similar committee of officers of the Spanish Army for the capitulation of Santiago de Cuba, unanimously join in asking the proper authorities that these brave and gallant soldiers may be granted the privilege of returning to their country carrying the arms which they have so nobly defended.

(Signed) "JOSEPH WHEELER,
Major General U. S. V.
"W. H. LAWTON,
Major General U. S. V.
"J. D. MILEY,
First Lieutenant, Second Artillery, Aid."

Under a giant cotton tree the following capitulation was signed:

"1st. The hostilities between the Spanish and American forces shall cease absolutely and finally.

"2d. The capitulation shall include all the forces and war material in said territory (territory of the division of Santiago).

"3d. The United States agree to transport all the Spanish forces in said territory to the Kingdom of Spain with the least delay possible, the troops to be embarked, as early as can be done, at the nearest ports they occupy.

"4th. The officers of the Spanish army shall be permitted to carry their arms with them, and officers as well as men shall retain their private property.

"5th. The Spanish authorities agree to raise, or assist the American Navy in raising, all the mines and other obstructions to navigation now existing in the bay of Santiago de Cuba and its entrance.

"6th. The commander of the Spanish forces shall deliver, without delay, to the commander of the American forces, a complete inventory of the arms and ammunitions of war in the district above referred to, as also a statement of the number of troops in the same.

"7th. The commander of the Spanish forces, upon leaving said district, shall be authorized to take with him all the military archives and documents belonging to the Spanish army now in said district.

"8th. All that portion of the Spanish forces known as volunteers, mobilized troops, and guerrillas who may desire to remain in the island of Cuba shall be allowed to do so, on condition that they will deliver up their arms and give their word of honor not again to take up arms against the United States during the continuation of the present war with Spain.

"9th. The Spanish forces shall leave Santiago de Cuba with honors of war, afterwards depositing their arms at a place mutually agreed upon, to await the disposition which the Government of the United States shall make of them, it being understood that the United States Commissioners shall recommend that the Spanish soldiers be permitted to return to Spain with the arms which they have so gallantly defended.

"10th. The clauses of the foregoing document shall go into effect immediately after having been signed.

"Entered into this 16th day of July, 1898, by the undersigned commissioners, acting under instructions of their respective commanders in chief and with the approval of their respective governments.

"JOSEPH WHEELER,
Major General U. S. V.

"W. H. LAWTON,
Major General U. S. V.

"J. D. MILEY,
First Lieutenant,
Second Artillery.

"FREDERICO ESCARIO,
Brigadier General.

"VENTURA FONTÁN,
Lieutenant Colonel,
General Staff.

"ROBERT MASON,
Interpreter."

XXXV.

THE EMIGRATION TO EL CANEY.

I will here speak of a matter which, though not directly related to the military operations, nor the movements of troops, nor the attack or defense of positions, is yet so graphic and typical and so remarkable and far-reaching in the consequences which it entailed and still entails, that to omit it would be to omit one of the most important episodes of this eventful period, an episode that has been much commented upon and discussed. I have reference to what may well be called the emigration to El Caney.

At daybreak of July 5, a compact crowd, composed for the greater part of old men, women, and children, though strong, robust men—some of them volunteers, now in civilian's clothes—were not wanting, started from the city toward El Caney, about a league and a half distant, where they were going on foot, there being no carriages, nor wagons, nor vehicles of any kind, nor even horses, which the enemy, moreover, would not have allowed to pass. All these people were crossing the ditches and trenches by which the whole road was cut and obstructed, all anxious to escape from the dangers of a bombardment of which notice had been given to the consuls.

Many of those who emigrated were people of wealth, women not accustomed to such fatigues and hardships, which fear and terror alone enabled them to bear.

Being convinced, though I do not know why they should have been, that their absence would not be for more than sixty or seventy hours at most, the majority of them had nothing with them but the clothes on their backs and a little underclothing, and no provisions except what they could carry themselves.

I have been told, not by one person alone, but by many who were there and with whom I have talked, that there were no less than eighty people in any one house, and in some of them as many as two hundred. As in the cemetery, each person had no more space than he or she occupied; and thus they were housed together, men and women, children and old people, white persons and black.

The provisions which were calculated for three days at most were naturally soon exhausted, and this is probably the only instance in the nineteenth century when money was looked upon with disdain and when gold was of no value. Trading was going on, it is true, but it was exchanging rice for coffee, hardtack for beans, or sugar for codfish.

The bodies of those who had been killed on the 1st of July had only partly been buried, and the houses in that portion of the town which had been shelled were riddled with bullets and therefore leaking everywhere. Carcases of horses and other animals, even corpses of persons, were thrown into the river, and people washed their dirty clothes and bathed in the water, which was all there was to drink. Most of the people lived on mangoes and mamoncillos, and it is no wonder that malaria, fevers, and dysentery broke out and assumed alarming proportions.

The houses had no sanitary provisions of any kind, and as the doors were kept closed in order to prevent new invasions, the atmosphere was terrible. The children, sick from lack of nourishment or from taking food which they could not digest, were crying day and night, and quiet or rest became impossible.

The faces of those who died were covered with a sheet or handkerchief, and the living remained by the side of the dead bodies, knowing that, if they should leave their places, others would come to occupy them.

Why go on? I might write a hundred chapters and still not give an idea of the suffering during those days; suffice it to say that El Caney, which was a town of 200 houses, was invaded by 20,000 people, who had counted on being there two days and who remained eleven, namely, until the 16th.

Those eleven days at El Caney have caused more victims in Santiago than the three years of war; for the epidemic that broke out still continues. When the inhabitants of the city numbered 45,000 there were, on an average, not over five deaths a day; and now, that the number of inhabitants is reduced to 30,000, there are not less than fifty a day. The house that does not contain one or more sick is an exception, and people who are well and hearty one day are buried a day or two later. The physicians can not attend all the sick, and the dead are carried to the cemeteries by members of their own families. The city wears that stamp of sadness and absence of life which is the mark of great calamities, and we hear nothing but wailing and sobbing.

A bombardment, of course, inspires women with the greatest horror, and yet, they preferred its dangers and consequences to the sadness and miseries of El Caney and asked, as the greatest

of blessings, to be allowed to return to Santiago, and to that end they signed a petition drawn up by the British consul, Mr. Frederick Ramsden, a literal translation of which follows:

"We, the undersigned women, in the name and at the request of all the women and children who are staying in this town without food or shelter, set forth to your excellency as follows:

"At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d instant, the consuls of Santiago de Cuba were notified that your excellency intended to bombard the city the following day at 10 o'clock in the morning, unless the Spanish army should surrender by that time, and that your excellency had ordered that the women and children should leave the city prior to that hour.

"The same evening, at the request of the consular committee, your excellency consented to defer the bombardment until noon of the 5th, and it was agreed upon that the noncombatants should proceed to El Caney, Cuabitas, and other places on the line of railway.

"In conformity therewith, the civil governor of Santiago de Cuba issued a decree permitting all noncombatants to leave the following morning, between the hours of 5 and 9, on foot, and without vehicles or beasts of burden. Consequently, old and young, rich and poor, sick and invalid, went out in confusion, without extra clothing and with only the food they could carry themselves, fleeing from certain death, and firmly convinced that the city would be bombarded that same day, and that in two days they would be able to return to what might be left of their homes. Far from this being the case; it is now ten days since they came here; many are without a roof over their heads and the others housed together like hogs, without even having room enough to lie down on the floor, which is all the bed they have; the scant supply of food is exhausted and no more can be had at any price. The praiseworthy efforts of the army and of the Society of the Red Cross are inadequate to better the situation; they are perishing themselves of hunger; the old and the sick are dying for want of care and medicines and as a result of so much suffering. And still the city has not yet been taken or bombarded, except a partial bombardment last Sunday and Monday, by which no result appears to have been attained, nor does there seem to be any probability of a change in the horrible situation for the near future.

"They now invoke that same *humanity* which has been the *motive* of this war, to ask that something be done as soon as possible to put an end to this terrible state of affairs, or that arrangements be made with the Spanish authorities permitting us to return

to the city, where we whould rather die from the shells or be buried under the ruins of our homes than perish slowly from hunger and disease, and the privations we are suffering.

(Here follow signatures.)

"CANEY, *July 14, 1898.*

"To His Excellency GENERAL SHAFTER,
Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army."

This document, remarkable under all aspects, describes the situation better than anything that I might say.

XXXVI.

SURRENDER OF THE CITY.

July 17th.—In conformity with the terms of the capitulation, the surrender of the city to the American army took place to-day.

At 9 a. m. the Spanish flag was hoisted on Punta Blanca Fort and saluted by 21 guns; shortly after it was lowered.

At 9.30 Generals Toral and Shafter, commanders in chief of the Spanish and American forces, respectively, the latter accompanied by his staff and many of the commanders and officers of the American fleet, witnessed the marching by, under arms, of a company of the former, representing all the Spanish forces, as it was difficult to assemble them. The American forces presented arms and beat a march.

The heights of Conosa were the theater of this sad scene. The morning was very beautiful, and the clearness of the sky formed a singular contrast with the gloom that enwrapped the spirit of our troops.

When the march was ended, the American forces remained at their posts, while ours left the trenches and proceeded to the city for the purpose of depositing their arms.

The forces of the Socapa and Punta Gorda were taken by sea, in the steamer *Reina de Los Angeles*, to Las Cruces pier, and from there they marched to the Artillery Park, where they delivered arms and ammunition. Without them, they proceeded to the camp outside of the city, where all the forces were to assemble until the arrival of the vessels which, as agreed upon, were to convey them to Spanish soil. The other troops did the same thing, after depositing their arms at the points designated beforehand.

The troops having evacuated the city, 1,000 men of the United States Army entered it, hoisting the flag of that nation at the Palace and Morro Castle. It is the only flag that has been raised in the city. No insurgent forces, nor individuals belonging to the same, have entered the city with arms. The situation remained the same till the day wher the army embarked for Spain.

As the operations at the Park lasted several hours, it was curious to see the avidity with which the Americans were looking for numbers worn by the 29th battalion (Constitución), sabres, buttons, and

decorations of our officers and soldiers. It was noticed with what satisfaction they kept whatever articles and arms they could gather. Some of them put on the crosses, covered with dirt and blood, that had adorned the breasts of the Spanish. There were so many incidents on the same order that it would really be tedious to enumerate them. They showed the high conception which the American forces had of the valor of our army.

One incident, in conclusion, relative to this matter: When a Yankee officer of artillery and another of engineers took possession of the Morro, they inquired about the defenses and artillery of the fort. "There they are," said the governor, pointing to the land batteries and old guns. The American officers did not believe him; personally they went all over the place in search of guns and more important works of fortification. And when they had convinced themselves that they had been told the truth, they exclaimed: "That fleet" (pointing to Admiral Sampson's) "has no excuse for not having gained possession of the harbor and defeated the city and its defenses in so many days."

The Commander in Chief of the American Army is General Miles. (Here follow the names of the different commanders in chief of the United States Army and Navy.)

At 10 a. m., an officer of the American Army, delegated for that purpose, took possession of the comandancia de marina and captaincy of the port, which were surrendered to him, after we had gathered up such documents and communications as should be preserved, and destroyed the others, or made them useless.

The forces are still depositing arms and ammunition, preserving excellent order, which has not been disturbed for a moment. Then they march to the camp outside the city. The arms were all deposited at the park, and not surrendered to the enemy. In order to form an idea, though only approximately, of the number of the forces defending the city, I give below a statement which gives the number at the hospitals, several having been fitted up.

On the 17th of July there were—

In the military hospital	800 sick and wounded.
At the Concha headquarters	500 sick and wounded.
At the Mercedes hospital	500 sick and wounded.
At Barracones	300 sick and wounded.
Total	2,100 sick and wounded.

NOTE 1: The number of sick, or rather of beds contained in the military hospital, and for which there was the necessary personnel in attendance, which naturally remained the same, was 500. The number of sick in normal times (during the insurrection) was from 350 to 400.

NOTE 2: At the hospital, only the seriously wounded and sick were admitted; those who could stand on their feet were refused and sent back to the trenches. If this had not been the case, there would not have been beds enough in which to put them nor physicians to attend them. Therefore, the number of sick was in reality much greater than shown by the statement furnished by the hospital.

The soldiers had but little to eat, and that little was bad, and not enough water. The latter was scarce, and means were lacking for transporting it to all the points on the extensive line they covered and which it was indispensable to maintain.

The horses of the cavalry, as well as the animals of the artillery and military administration, had had no corn to eat for a long time, and the hay, their only food, was very difficult to get and caused sickness, which was worse.

In conclusion, I will give a statement of the stock on hand which the artillery park turned over to the American officer commissioned to receive it:

ARTILLERY PARK OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Statement of stock on hand, in arms and ammunition, of which the officer of the American Army, commissioned to receive it, takes charge.

Kind.	Number of arms.	Rounds of ammunition.
Mauser guns, Spanish model, 7-mm., No. 1893	7,902	1,500,000
Mauser guns, Argentine model, 7.65-mm., No. 1891	872	1,471,000
Mauser guns, Turkish model, 765-mm., No. 1892		
Remington guns, 11-mm., No. 71	6,118	345,000
Remington guns, 11-mm., No. 7189		1,335,000
Mauser carbines, Spanish model	833	
Mauser carbines, Argentine model	84	
Remington carbines	330	1,200
Revolvers	84	
Sabers	267	
Machetes	692	

SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *July —, 1898.*

LUIS MELGAR,
Lieut. Col., Commander of Artillery.

Found correct by the officer commissioned. Errors and omissions excepted.

A. D. BORUP,
Lieut. Col., U. S. V., Chief Ord. Officer.

It will be seen that nearly the whole armament with which the Spanish army was equipped consisted of Mauser guns, Spanish model (the Remington was that of the volunteers and a few mobilized companies); hence the ammunition for those was all that could be used and should be counted; the rest was useless.

Therefore, the number of cartridges on hand and surrendered was 1,500,000, and the number of guns 7,902. Hence there were 191 cartridges for each soldier. Every army man will know the time it takes to use them up.

Here end the events and military operations that took place at Santiago de Cuba, and which are the subject of these notes. * * *

I give below the official statement of all the casualties sustained by the forces of Santiago de Cuba in the different bombardments and battles from the 18th of May to the date of the signing of the capitulation. Those caused by sickness are not included.

CASUALTIES IN THE BOMBARDMENTS AND ATTACKS ON THE CITY OF SANTIAGO.

Date.	Killed.				Wounded.				Prisoners and Missing.		
	Generals.	Commanders.	Officers.	Men.	Generals.	Commanders.	Officers.	Men.	Commanders.	Officers.	Men.
June 6:											
Morro				2		1	4	25			
Estrella				1							
Cay Smith								2			
Socapa								8			
Mazamorra								11			
Cruiser *Reina Mercedes*		1		5		1	1	10			
June 14:											
Socapa							1	6			
June 16:											
Morro				1			1	10			
Socapa				2			1	6			
June 21:											
Morro								3			
June 22:											
Socapa							1				
Aguadores							1	6			
Daiquiri				1				5			
June 23 and 24:											
Sevilla				9			3	24			
June 25:											
Aguadores							2	1			
June 26:											
Morro								8			
July 2:											
Morro				1			1	31			
July 1, 2, and 3:											
Caney and Santiago	1	3	12	78	1	6	30	339	1	6	116
July 10:											
Santiago				6		1	2	45			
July 11:											
Santiago				1			1	16			
Total	1	4	12	107	1	9	49	556	1	6	116

RECAPITULATION.

	Generals.	Commanders.	Officers.	Men.
Killed	1	4	12	107
Wounded	1	9	49	556
Prisoners and missing		1	6	116
General total	2	14	67	779

SKETCH OF THE POSITION OF BOTH ARMIES ON JULY 3.

Explanations.

1. ..... *Socapa Battery.*
2. ..... *Morro Castle.*
3. ..... *Morro Battery.*
4. ..... *Punta Gorda Battery.*
5. ..... *Powder Magazine.*
6. ..... *Blockhouses.*
7. ..... *Cemetery.*
8. ..... *Spanish Batteries.*
9. ..... *Artillery Park.*
a. ..... *Spanish Trenches.*
b. ..... *Canosa Fort.*
r. ..... *Enclosure (Wire) of the City.*
x. ..... *American Trenches.*
10. ..... *American Batteries.*

ARMY OF OPERATIONS

DIVISION OF CUBA

SANTIAGO BRIGADE

SKETCH OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA AND VICINITY

Prepared in the Office of Naval Intelligence

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

NOV. 1898.

From a map accompanying

"COMBATES Y CAPITULACION DE SANTIAGO DE CUBA."

West Boundary= Nima Nima river, Alto Hermitano, Alturas Santa Gertrudis and Santa Rosa al Cobre.
North Boundary= Puerto Bayamo road, Sierra Maestra through the passes of Corralillo, Ysleno, Enramadas and Boniato al Cristo.
East Boundary= Sierra Maestra, Heights of Escandell and Villalon in S.E. direction towards Gran Piedra, Heights of Folie and Negote ending S. with the boundary line of the rivers Daiquiri and Berraco.

Scale 1/50,000 — 0 500 1000 = 1 Km.

Explanations.

- Buildings.
- Water courses and ravines.
- Wagon road.
- Foot "
- Path.
- Pier.
- Foot paths in Mineral Regions
- Telegraph station.
- Signal telegraph or heliograph station.
- Telephone "
- Fort.
- House entrenched, occupied by forces.
- Small guard house occupied by detachments of the Civil Guard.
- Barb or plain wire.
- 6 m barb wire, surrounding the City of Santiago.
- Trenches.

Forts and detached points in the district of Santiago.

1	Ft° Maboa	Cobre	40	Ft° Pio	Caney.	78	Ft° Benot — Siboney
2	" Fortin		41	" Cementerio		79	" Infante
3	" Santuario		42	" Yzquierdo		80	" Duran
4	" Loma Cruz		43	" Matadero		81	" Vazquez o Sueberbia — West part of the Juraguas mines
5	" Puerto Bayamo		44	" Asta		82	" Anacahuite
6	" " Corralillo	In the Sierra Maestra	45	" Pozo		83	" Moya o Aguado Soto — Camp of Firmeza.
7	" " Ysleno		46	" San Juan		84	" Clinica o Mario Bellard
8	" " Enramadas		47	" S. Miguel de Parada		85	" Abat
9	" " Boniato		48	" S. Jose "		86	" Perut Martin
10	" " Dejao		49	" Buena Vista		87	" Guerrero
11	" Puente Purgatorio.		50	" Caye Duan	On the Bay of Santiago	88	" Tubio
12	House	Cuabitas	51	" Monte		89	" Mahy
13	Ft° N°1		52	" Cayo Natenes		90	" Macias
14	" N°2		53	" Cayo Smith		91	" Puig
15	Station		54	" Socapa		92	" Delgado
16	Ft° alto Represa		55	" Morro		93	" Alegre
17	" bajo "	On the N.R from San Pedro to Cristo.	56	Estrella Battery	"	94	" Ibanez — On the Folie Hill.
18	" Boniato		57	Ft° Cruces		95	" Diaz Flor
19	" Ft° Boniato		58	" Punta Blanca	In the outer precincts of Santiago	96	" Marcote
20	" S^n Vicente.		59	Ft° Casamatero		97	" Salamanca — On the Concordia Hill.
21	" Dos Bocas		60	Furnaces		98	" Garcia
22	" Cutie á Barges		61	Ft° Nuevo		99	" Valdivia
23	" Cuba ó Espana		62	" Reimprencia		100	" Santana
24	" Colon ó Ochando		63	" Camalea		101	" Burgos — On the Prudencia Hill.
25	" Manacas ó S. Luciano		64	" S^ta Ursula	In the outer precincts of the City of Santiago	102	" Chelmes
26	" Gasco ó Voluntarios		65	" Guayabito		103	" Duque
27	" Casa Azul		66	" Carlos a.		104	" Castellano
28	" Factoria Chumeda	Cristo	67	" Santa Ines		105	" Toledo
29	" V^a Abreu ó Weyler		68	" Cuabitas		106	" Represe. — Vinent
30	" Vista Hermosa		69	" S^n Antonio		107	" Labores
31	" Guamniquimo Garcia		70	" Yarayo		108	" Palacios
32	" Parasso ó Francs		71	" Barnes		109	" Aguero
33	Ft° N°1 Station		72	" Dos Caminos del Cobre		110	" Canade
34	" N°2 "		73	" N°1 Inflamable stores.	"	111	" Montaner — On the Coast Road.
35	" Ft° Manacas					112	" Vega
36	" Ft° Guamniquim		74	" N°2 " "		113	" Pamier
37	" N°1 Escandell		75	" Aguadores On the S.coast and on the R.R.	On the hills east of the Juraguas Mines	114	" Izquierdo — Paiguiri.
38	" N°2		76	" Sardinero		115	" Chirivechas.
39	" Viso		77	" Julici		116	" Zanzapote
						117	" Alvarez Espejo

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